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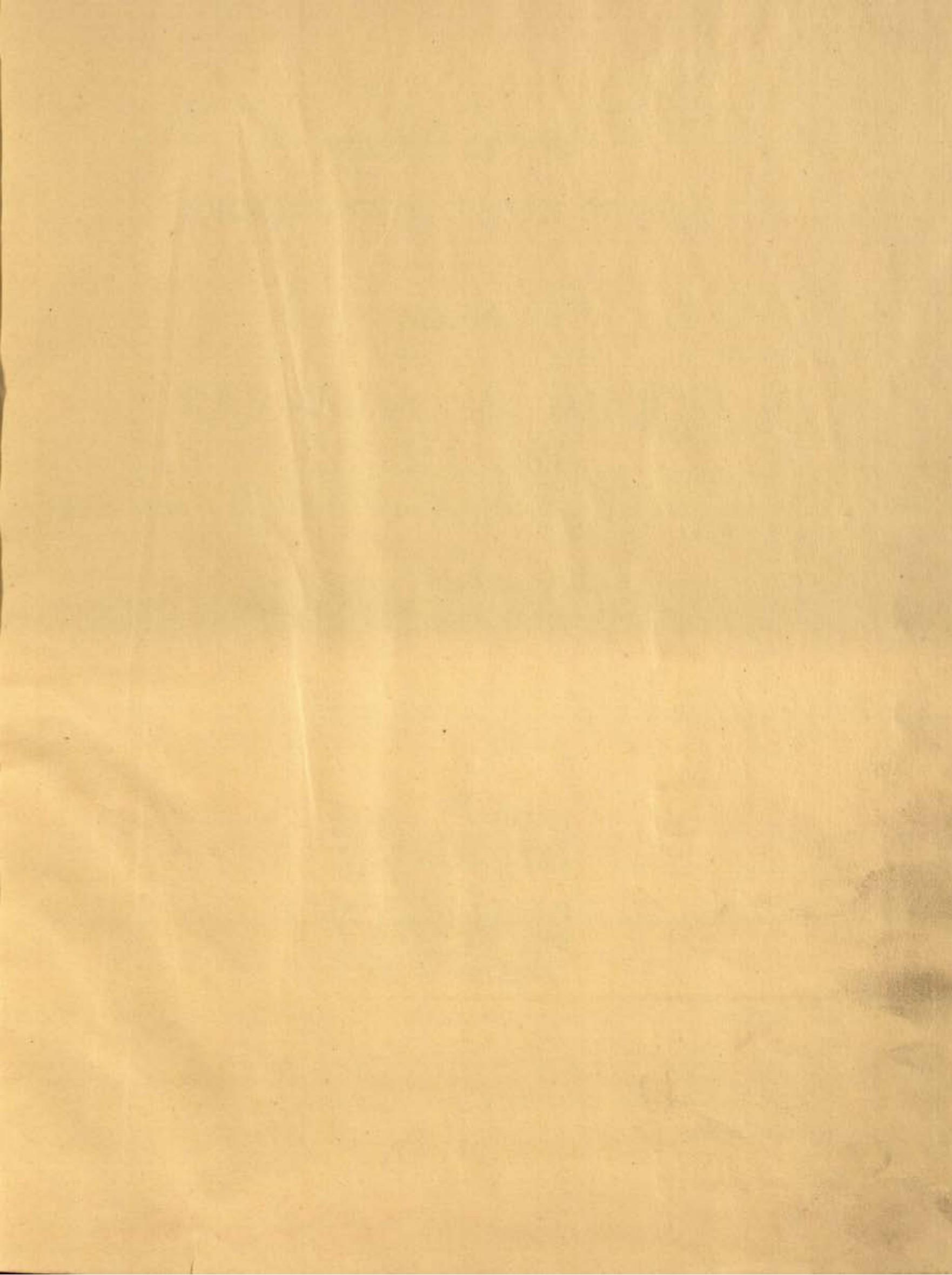
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RĀJAGRIHA IN ANCIENT  
LITERATURE

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BY

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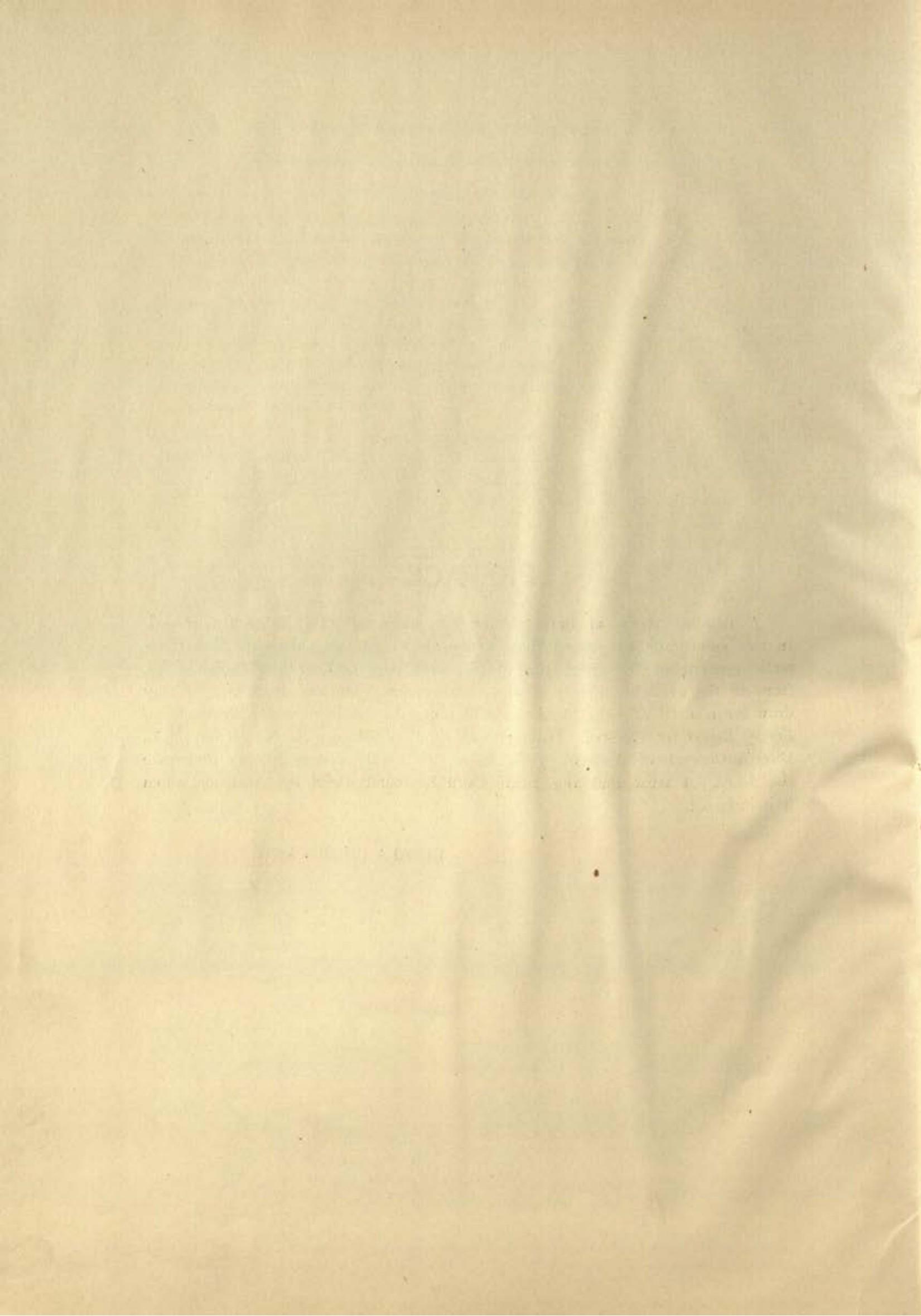
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## PREFACE

A detailed study of important ancient historical sites is greatly needed. In this monograph an attempt has been made to give an exhaustive and systematic account of Rājagṛīha, one of the most important ancient Indian cities, from all the available literary sources, Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist. I may draw the readers' attention to the map of Rājagṛīha published in the *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1905-06. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India, for kindly asking me to undertake this work. I trust that this treatise will be found useful by those for whom it is intended.

BIMALA CHURN LAW



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**Plate I.—Rajgir—**

- (a) Sonagiri with the cyclopean wall on it, as seen from Udaygiri
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- (a) New Rajgir : South Gate of Fort
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# RĀJAGRīHA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

## 1 DIFFERENT NAMES : THEIR ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

Kuśāgrapura,<sup>1</sup> Girivraja<sup>2</sup> and Rājagrīha<sup>3</sup> (Pali *Rājagaha*, Ārddha-Māgadhi *Rāyagiha*) are the three familiar names by which the ancient and earlier capital of Magadha<sup>4</sup> is known in ancient literature. Kuśāgrapura, which is represented by Jinaprabhasūri as the earlier name of Rājagrīha,<sup>5</sup> cannot be traced in any of the Pāli or Ārddha-Māgadhi works. Hwen Thsang transliterates this name in Chinese as *Kū-shē-ka-lo-pu-lo*, which Julien wrongly restores by Kuśāgrāpura or 'Palace of the Kuśa house'.<sup>6</sup> Watters who restores it by Kuśāgrapura observes: "The translation *shang-mao*, 'superior reed-grass' apparently supposes the word *Kuśāgra*".<sup>7</sup> According to the Chinese pilgrim's itinerary, "the city derived its name from the excellent fragrant reed-grass which abounded there".<sup>8</sup>

As for the second name Girivraja, its origin or significance is not far to seek. The city was called Girivraja because it was 'guarded by a cluster of close-set five hills'.<sup>9</sup> Buddhaghosa explains the Pali *Giribbaja* as meaning 'an enclosure of hills'.<sup>10</sup> Thus Girivraja may be taken to simply mean 'a hill-girt city'.

The third name Rājagrīha, which literally means a 'royal abode', 'royal residence', or 'royal seat', is thus accounted for by Buddhaghosa: "Rājagaha is a town so named. It is called Rājagaha because it was used as a residence (lit. seized) by Mandhātā, Mahāgovinda, and the rest. But as others explain it, Rājagaha is just a name chosen for the town concerned".<sup>11</sup> Dhammapāla refers to another opinion accounting for the name Rājagaha as a prison for inimical kings (*paṭirājūnam gahabhūtattā*).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, Paṭal, LXIII, where Kuśāgrapuri occurs as another form of the name; Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, *Vaibhāragiri-kalpa*, v. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *Sabbāparva*, Ch. XXI, 3; *Samyutta-nikāya*, Pt. II, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *Sabbāparva*, Ch. XXI, 40; *Vanaparva*, *Tīrthayātrāparva*, 6-82-104; etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Pāṭaliputra*, *Kusumapura*, or *Pushpapura* was the later capital.

<sup>5</sup> *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, *Vaibhāragiri-kalpa*, v. 14.

<sup>6-7</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 148.

<sup>9</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *Sabbāparva*, Ch. XXI, v. 3: *Ete pañcha mahāśringā parvatāḥ śitala-drumāḥ rakṣantīvābhisaṁhatya samhatāṅgā Girierajāḥ. Sutta-nipāta*, p. 72: *Agamā Rājagahanā Buddho Magadhanām Giribbajanā*. "Giribbajan ti idam pi tassa nāmañ, tam hi Pāndava-Gijjhakūla-Veṭhāra-Isigili-Vepulla-nāmakānam pañchannam girinam majjhe vayo viyo thitam, tasmā Giribbajan ti vuchhati. Sutta-nipāta Commentary, II, p. 382.

<sup>10</sup> *Sāratthappakāśini*, II, p. 159: *Magadha-raṭṭhassa Giribboje: giri-parikkhepe thito ti attho*.

<sup>11</sup> *Sumangala-vilāsini*, I, p. 132: *Rājagaha'ti evam-nāmake nagare. Tam hi Mandhātu-Mahāgovindādīhi pari-gahitattā Rājagahanā ti vuchhati. Aññe .. nāmañ etam nagarassa*.

<sup>12</sup> *Udāna-vāṇṇanā*, Siamese Ed., p. 32. Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, X, Ch. 7, according to which king Jarāsandha imprisoned several kings in Rājagrīha.

According to Jinaprabhasūri, the city which eventually came to be called Rājagrīha was known from time to time by such earlier names as Kshitipratishṭha, Chaṇakapura, Rishabhapurā, and Kuśāgrapura,<sup>1</sup> the first three of which are not met with elsewhere, in Buddhist or Brahmanical literature. We come across two other names of the ancient city, namely Vasumati in the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>2</sup> and Bār-hadrathapura in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>3</sup>

## 2 GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND TOPOGRAPHY

The *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparva*), which professes to give an earlier account of Rājagrīha<sup>4</sup> when it was used as the capital by king Jarāsandha and known by the name of Girivraja, describes the royal city as one guarded by five close-set hills with large peaks. The five hills with which this beautiful royal city was girt and made impregnable on all sides (*durādharmam samantataḥ*) were Vaihāra, the large mountain (*vipulah śailo*), Vārāha, Vṛishabha, Rishigiri, and Subhachaitiyaka.<sup>5</sup> The five hills around the city, as named in a second enumeration, were Pāñdara, Vipula, Vārāhaka, Chaityaka, the best of mountains (*giriśreshṭha*), and Mātaṅga, the rocky elevation (*śilochchaya*).<sup>6</sup> This capital of Magadha which 'might have a view' by persons from a distance from the Gorathagiri<sup>7</sup> (modern Barabar hills)<sup>8</sup> lay concealed, as it were, in *lodhra* (*racemosa*) trees adorned all over with fragrant and delightful blossoms. It also abounded with the beautiful groves of *Pippala* trees. It was the place where once dwelt such holy personages as Rishi Dirghatamas, the high-souled Gautama, and the sage Kākshīvān. It was again the place that contained the excellent abodes of Svastika and Maṇināga, the two serpents that tormented the enemies. On the five great hills, Pāñdara, Vipula, Vārāhaka, Chaityaka, and Mātaṅga, were the abodes of all *siddhas*, the hermitages of anchorites and high-souled *munis*, and the haunts of powerful bulls, *Gandharvas*, *Rākshasas*, and *Nāgas*. The hot springs, famous as *Tapodās*,<sup>9</sup> were praised by all *siddhas* as *puṇyatīrthas* (holy waters for purificatory baths).<sup>10</sup> Maṇināga was the tutelary deity of the place, while the *yakṣiṇīs* were the minor deities of appreciable importance.<sup>11</sup> It was then a flourishing city, populous and

<sup>1</sup> *Vividha-sīrtha-kalpa*, *Vaibhāragiri-kalpa*, vv. 13-14 : *Kshitipratishṭhādi nāmānyan vabhūdyat tadā tadā*, *Kshitipratishṭha-Chaṇakapura-rishabhapurābhīḍhan Kuśāgrapurasamījñām cha kramād Rājagrīhāhvayam*.

Hwen Thsang's explanation of the origin of the name Kuśāgrapura may not at all be correct. See *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> I, 32. 7.

<sup>3</sup> II, 24. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Though the account given refers to an earlier state of things, it is highly improbable that, as one has it, it is earlier than that contained in the Pali Canon. The neighbouring hill which is called Gorathagiri has been named Khalatikā (Bald) in the inscriptions of Aśoka as well as the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, New Series, Vol. I).

<sup>5</sup> *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XXI, v. 2 : *Vaihāra vipulah śailo Vārāha Vṛishabha stathā tathā Rishigiristāta Šubhāśchaityaka-pāñchamāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Ch. XXI, v. 11 : *Pāñdare Vipule chaiva tathā Vārāhake' pi cha Chaityake cha giriśreshṭhe Mātaṅge cha silochchaye*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, Ch. XX, v. 30 : *Goratham girim āśādyā dadriśur Māgadham puram*.

<sup>8</sup> See Jackson's identification of Goradtagiri in *JBORS*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 162; Barua's *Old Brāhma Inscriptions on the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves*, p. 224.

<sup>9</sup> *Kakshīvatapoviryāt Tapodā iti viśrutāḥ*.

<sup>10</sup> *Sabhāparva*, Ch. XXI, vv. 1-14.

<sup>11</sup> *Vanaparva*, *Tirthayātrāparva*, 6-82-105, 106, 107.

prosperous, where men of four castes lived. The royal palace was inside the city. Vāsudeva of the Vrishṇi race and the five Pāṇḍava brothers followed a route by which they were able to reach the beautiful and majestic Chaityaka hill from Gorathagiri. It was from the top of this hill that they took a full view of the city before entering it by the gate.<sup>1</sup>

The Pali *Isigili-Sutta* agrees with the *Mahābhārata* in so far as it says that Rājagrīha, or better its *antonagara* (the inner city), was surrounded by five hills.<sup>2</sup> But the hills themselves are named somewhat differently: Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava, Vepulla, Gijjhakūṭa, and Isigili. Judged by their verbal correspondences, Vebhāra and Isigili are same names as Vaihāra and Rishigiri of the first list of the *Mahābhārata* and Pāṇḍava and Vepulla are no other than Pāṇḍara and Vipula of the second list of the Great Epic. Unfortunately the Epic description has not a word of explanation as to why the five hills were differently named in the two lists presented in one and the same chapter of the *Sabbhāparva*, nor does it give any indication whatsoever as to how they were to be located or identified. The interest of the Buddhist account in the *Isigili-Sutta* lies in the fact that it introduces the enumeration in such a manner as to enable the reader to locate the five hills in succession, *pātipātiyā* as Buddhaghosa would say.<sup>3</sup> If one is to take that the list of five hills opens with Isigili, it closes with Gijjhakūṭa, and if it opens with Vebhāra, it must close with Isigili. But the question still remains open how to identify them with the modern hills that enclose Rajgir, or better Purāṇa Rajgir?

The Jaina records and traditions, earlier as well as later, are mainly responsible for the modern nomenclature of the hills around Rajgir. If one enters Rajgir from the north, the hill which lies to the right is Vaibhāragiri; that which lies to the left is Vipulaparvata or Vipulagiri; the one which stands at right angles to the Vipula and runs southwards parallel to the Vaibhāra is Ratnagiri; the one forming the eastern extension of the Ratnagiri is Chhatāgiri and the hill that stands next to Chhatāgiri in continuation of the latter is Šailagiri. The one opposite to the Chhatāgiri is Udayagiri; that which lies to the south of Ratnagiri and the west of the Udaya is Sonagiri. The Vaibhāragiri extends southward and westward ultimately to form the western entrance of Rajgir with the Sonagiri. The Vipula-parvata runs for some length towards the south-east leading to the northern range of hills that extends up to the village called Giriyak or Giryek on the Bihar-Sharif-Nawadah road. The Ratnagiri stretches southward for some distance and then bends eastward, the eastern hills, Chhatāgiri and Šailagiri extending towards north-east forming the northern range of Rajgir hills. The Chhatāgiri and the Šailagiri form the eastern entrance of Rajgir with the Udayagiri which latter, too, continues eastward as the southern range of Rajgir hills. The Udayagiri in its turn forms the southern entrance of Rajgir with the Sonagiri. The Sonagiri extends further west or southwest to form the western entrance of Rajgir with the Vaibhara hill which stands in front of it

<sup>1</sup> *Sabbhāparva*, Ch. XXI, vv. 16-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, Vol. III, pp. 68 foll. Cf. *Sutta-nipāta* Commentary, II, p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> *Papañcha-sūdanī*, Siamese Ed., Pt. III, p. 537: *etesi pana pabbatesu pātipātiyā kathiyamānesu*.

(Plate Ia). The Rajgir hills forming two parallel ranges, northern and southern, run north-east over a distance of 9 miles and terminate at the village of Giriak. Cunningham says: "From the neighbourhood of Gaya two parallel ranges of hills stretch towards the north-east for about 36 miles to the bank of the Panchāna river, just opposite the village of Giryek. The eastern end of the southern range is much depressed, but the northern range maintains its height, and ends abruptly in two lofty peaks overhanging the Panchāna river. The lower peak is crowned with a solid tower of brick-work, well known as *Jarasandha-kā-Baithak*, or Jarāsandha's throne (Plate Ib), while the higher peak on the west, to which the name of Giryek peculiarly belongs, bears an oblong terrace".<sup>1</sup>

In the inscriptions of the Jaina temples on Mt. Vaibhāra, the name of the hill is 'sometimes written Vaibhāra, and sometimes Vyavahāra'.<sup>2</sup> It is apparently the same mountain as Vaihāra, which is described in the *Mahābhārata* as a *vipula śaila*, or 'massive rock'. According to Jinaprabha-sūri, the city of Rājagṛīha shone forth in the valley of Vaibhāragiri<sup>3</sup> with Trikūṭa, Khandīka, and the rest as its bright peaks.<sup>4</sup> The Jaina author speaks of some dark caves in this hill that could not be entered without much difficulty (*tamaskanda-durvī-gāhaguḥā*). He refers to this sacred hill as the site where one might be easily inclined to build *kūndas* of tepid and cold water (*tapta-sitambu-kūndani*). Close to this hill were the Sarasvatī and many other streams flowing with pleasant waters with properties to heal diseases, and they served as so many popular *tīrthas* (bathing places). The *Saugatas* (Buddhists) built *vihāras* on this hill, finding it to be a suitable site (*pratidesa*), and the Jainas installed the images of the holy Arhats (*Tīrthankaras*) in the *chaityas* (shrines) built upon it.<sup>5</sup> As Cunningham thought, 'this hill is beyond all doubt the *Vebhāra* of the Pāli annals'.<sup>6</sup> But what is the actual literary evidence to justify this identification?

The only difficulty in the way of this identification arises from the fact that Hwen Thsang has definitely represented the mountain as *Pi-pu-lo*, which verbally equates with Vipula. He tells us that "to the west of the north gate of the 'Mountain City' was the *Pi-pu-lo* (Vipula) mountain". "According to local accounts", he adds, "on the north side of the south-west declivity there had once been 500 hot springs,<sup>7</sup> of which there remained at his time several scores, some cold and some tepid. The source of these springs was the *Anavatapta Lake* to the south of the Snow Mountains, and the streams ran underground to this place. The water was beautifully clear, and it had the same taste as that of the Lake. The fountain stream flowed in 500 branches past the Small Hot Wells, and this made the water of the springs hot. All these springs had carved

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, pp. 539-540.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 530.

<sup>3</sup> *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, *Vaibhāragiri-kalpa*, v. 13: *Upatyakāyam asyadrer bhati Rājagṛīham puram*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 5: *Trikūṭa-Khandikādīnī śringāryasya chakāsatī*.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, pp. 530-1. D. N. Sen is of the same opinion.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 531.

<sup>7</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 153. The pilgrim tells of the mountain to the north of Rājagaha with twenty hot springs at its base. The Chinese ambassador Wang Hsuan (or Yuan)-tse, a contemporary of Hwen Thsang, washed his head in one of these springs. Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 154.

stones such as heads of lions or white elephants, or they had stone aqueducts to lead the water into tanks made of stone slabs. People came from various lands to bathe in these tanks, and often went away healed of old maladies. About the springs were the foundations of topes and temples in close succession, and also the sites of sitting and exercise places of the Four Past Buddhas. This place having a succession of hill and stream was a hermitage of benevolence and wisdom, and in it were hidden many scholars unknown to the world. To the west of the Hot Springs was the *Pi-po-lo* (Pippala) cave in which the Buddha often lodged. Through the rock at the back of this was a passage into the Asur's Palace in which *bhikshus* practising *samādhi* lodged notwithstanding the strange sights which drove some of them mad ..... On the Vipula Mountain is a tope on the spot where the Buddha once preached; many Digāmbaras now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly; they turn round with the sun watching it from its rising to its setting.”<sup>1</sup>

This is undoubtedly a vivid and correct description of the main features of the Jaina Vaibhāragiri as it is found even now. None need be surprised when the great Chinese pilgrim represents the Jaina Vaibhāragiri as *Pi-pu-lo* in view of the fact that even the Great Epic describes Mount Vaihāra as *vipula śaila*. That this very mountain is the *Vebhāra* of the Pali records is indeed beyond all doubt. In accounting for the name of *Tapodārāma*, a Buddhist retreat or monastery in *Rājagriha* of the Buddha's time, Buddhaghosa suggests that it received its name from Tapoda, a hot-water lake about which it was situated.<sup>2</sup> Tapoda is the name of the stream which flowed into and fed the Tapoda lake. The Pali scholiast adds by way of a further explanation of the name!

“Underneath the Vebhāra mountain is the residence of the terrestrial *Nāgas* which extends over a space of five hundred leagues and resembles the world of the gods in being adorned with jewelled floor and pleasaunces and gardens. There is a big lake of water on the sporting ground of the *Nāgas*. The river Tapodā flows heated therefrom, as a stream of hot water. But how is it so? Surrounding *Rājagaha* stands a large under-world. There this Tapodā passes between two big boiling purgatories. From this circumstance the river flows heated. The Blessed One said, ‘When, O monks, this Tapodā begins to flow, the water of that lake is excellent, agreeable, cool,...., but this Tapodā, O monks, passes also between two great purgatories. For this reason this Tapodā flows heated.’ A big lake of water came to be formed thereby in front of this retreat ”.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 153-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāratthappakāśini*, I, p. 38: *Tapodārāme, ti Tapodassa tattodakassa rahadassa vasena evam laddha-nāme ārāme.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sāratthapakāśini*, I, p. 38: *Vebhāra-pabbatassa kira heṭṭhā bhummaṭṭhaka-nāgānam, pañca-yojana-satikan nāgabhāvanāni devaloka-sadisāni manimayena talena ārām' uyyānehi ca samannāgatam. Tattha nāgānam kilanāṭṭhāne mahā-udaka-rahado. Tato Tapodā nāma nadi sandati kuthitā un odakā. Kasmā pan' esā edisā? Rājagaham kira parivāretvā mahā-petaloko tiṭṭhati. Tattha dvinnam mahā-lohakumbhi-nirayānam antarena ayan Tapodā āgachchatti. Tasmā kuthitā sandati. Vuttam pi c'etam: “Yadāyam, bhikkhave, Tapodā sandati, so rahado accodako sātodako sitodako ..... api cāyam, bhikkhave, Tapodā, dvinnam mahā-nirayānam antarikṣya āgachchhati. Tenāyam Tapodā kuthitā sandati”. Imassa pana ārāmasea abhimukhaṭṭhāne tato mahā-udaka-rahado jāto.*

While Buddhist writings mention Tapodā as a hot river, the Great Epic, as we saw, uses *tapodāh* as a plural form to denote the hot springs in the neighbourhood of Rājagrīha. Watters rightly guessed that the Pali *Tapoda* and the Chinese *T'a-pu-ho* might be taken to represent the 'hot springs' of Hwen Thsang.<sup>1</sup> Here our immediate interest lies in the fact that Buddhaghosa associates the hot springs giving rise to the Tapodā river with Mount Vebhāra.

If it can thus be established that the Pali *Vebhāra* mountain is no other than the Jaina Vaibhāragiri, it becomes easy to identify the remaining four hills with the aid of the list of five hills as mentioned in order in the *Isigili-Sutta*; Pāñdava with Vipula mountain, Vepulla with Ratnagiri<sup>2</sup> and Chhathāgiri,<sup>3</sup> Gijjhakūṭa with Udayagiri, and Isigili with Sonagiri.<sup>4</sup>

In the *Samyutta-Nikāya* the Vipula or Vepulla is described as the best among the mountains of *Rājagaha*.<sup>5</sup> Regarding this mountain we are told in the same Nikāya that it lay to the north of Gijjhakūṭa and stood in the midst of the girdle of Magadhan hills.<sup>6</sup> Going by this description one must see that the mountain with which the Vepulla of the Pali records is identified satisfies this two-fold test: (1) that it stands to the north of Gijjhakūṭa, and (2) that it is placed in the circle of hills. The Jaina Vipula mountain does not certainly satisfy these two tests. But the Ratnagiri and the Chhathāgiri, taken together and counted as one hill, stand these tests.

D. N. Sen has availed himself of a statement in the *Sutta-nipāta* commentary in identifying the Pāñdava mountain with the Ratnagiri.<sup>7</sup> According to this statement Siddhārtha travelled just a week after his renunciation from the mango-grove of the Mallas at Anupriyā to Rājagrīha which stood like a 'fortress' between five hills. He entered the city by its eastern gate and walked up the Pāñdava mountain<sup>8</sup> where he sat down in a slope facing the east (*puratthābhimukhapabbhāre*).<sup>9</sup> The expression *puratthābhimukha* can by no means be taken to suggest with Sen that the slope 'lay to the east'.<sup>10</sup> And if we look into the text of the *Sutta-nipāta*, we find it altogether silent as to the gate by which the Bodhisattva entered the city. All that we are told in it is that on his arrival at Rājagrīha the Bodhisattva went about the city collecting alms, and on coming out of it walked towards the Pāñdava hill, thinking that it would be his dwelling place.<sup>11</sup> Seeing that he took up his abode there, the messengers of king Bimbisāra

<sup>1</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> D. N. Sen identifies Vepulla with Vipula, and Pāñdava with Ratnagiri.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Marshall identifies Gijjhakūṭa with Chhathāgiri. See his 'Rajgir and its Remains' in A. S. I. R., 1905-06, pp. 86 foll.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham identifies Isigili with Ratnagiri. *Ancient Geography*, p. 531.

<sup>5</sup> *Samyutta-Nikāya*, I, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Samyutta-Nikāya*, II, p. 185: *So kho panāyam akkhāto Vepullo pabbato mahā uttaro Gijjhakūṭassa Magadhanam giribbajo.*

Giribbaje is the correct reading and not giribbajo. See *Sāratthapakāśini*, II, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Sutta-nipāta* commentary, II, p. 383: tam pabbatam aruhi.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 384.

<sup>10</sup> *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 73: *So piyādachāram charitvā nikhamma nagarā muni Pāñdavom abhihāresi, ethavāeo bhavissati.*

informed him, saying: "This *bhikkhu*, O great king, remains seated in front of the Pāñdava hill, like a tiger, or a bull, or a lion in the cavern of a mountain."<sup>1</sup> The *Jātaka-Nidāna-kathā* definitely tells us in this connection that the Bodhisattva came out of the city by the same gate by which he entered it and sat down facing the east under the shade of the Pāñdava mountain and took his meal.<sup>2</sup>

Thus in the *Nidāna-kathā*, too, the gate by which the Bodhisattva entered the city and came out of it is not mentioned. It agrees with the *Sutta-nipāta* also in stating that he had not walked towards the Pāñdava hill until he came out of the city. Further, if the Bodhisattva had travelled from Anupriyā to Rājagṛīha, presumably by the high road which passed through Nālandā, it is more probable that he entered the city by its north gate, in which case it is the Jaina Vipulagiri rather than Ratnagiri that fits in with the description of the Bodhisattva's first visit to Rājagṛīha which was the Girivraja of Magadha.

The Vebhāra and the Pāñdava appear indeed to have been the two hills that stood on the north side of Girivraja and were noted for their rocky caves.<sup>3</sup>

All the available Pali records attest beyond all doubt that the palace of the king of Magadha of Buddha's time was situated in Girivraja, within the girdle of five hills. King Bimbisāra was able to see from his palace when the Bodhisattva was collecting alms from door to door within this part of the ancient city.<sup>4</sup> Buddhaghosa speaks indeed of *anto-nagara* and *bahi-nagara*, the 'inner city' and the 'outer city' of Rājagṛīha, each of which contained a large population, nine crores of people as he would say.<sup>5</sup> The Pali scholiast also informs us that the city of Rājagṛīha was provided with 32 large gates and 64 small gates.<sup>6</sup> He also tells us that it was enclosed by a wall (*pākāra*).<sup>7</sup> There were localities on all sides of the city (*Rājagahassa samantā*).<sup>8</sup> The locality which lay to the south of the southern line of hills was known by the name of *Dakkhinagiri* (Dakshinagiri).<sup>9</sup>

The happy reminiscences of the sites of importance to the Buddhists in and about Rājagṛīha are vividly recorded in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* in the following words of the Buddha: "Whilst I dwelt once in Rājagaha on the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, whilst I dwelt once in Rājagaha in the retreat called Nigrodhārāma, there verily I dwelt in Rājagaha on the precipice called Chora-

<sup>1</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 73: *Esa bhikkhu, mahārāja, Pañdarassa puratthato nisinno vyagghusabho va sīho va girigabhore.*

<sup>2</sup> Faüsboll, *Jātaka*, I, p. 66: *Mahāpuriso pi missaka-bhattam sanharitvā... pavittihadeūren' eva nagarā nikkhāmitvā Pandavapabbatachchāyāya puratthābhīmukho nisiditvā āhāram paribhūnjitum āraddho.*

<sup>3</sup> *Theragāthā*, XLI, v. 1: *Vivarañ anupatanti Vebhārassa cha Pañdarassa cha.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 72; Faüsboll, *Jātaka*, I, p. 66: *Rājā pāśāda-tale thatvā mahāpurisam disvā.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sāratthappakāśini*, I, p. 313: *Rājagahām kira ākiṇṇa-manussānam anto-nagare nava-koṭiyo bahi-nagare navāti. Tam upanissāyo atthārasa-manussa-koṭiyo vasanti. The figure given is obviously an exaggerated one.*

<sup>6</sup> *Sumangala-vilāśini*, I, p. 150: *Rājagāhe kira dvattiṁsa mahā-dvārāni chatusatthi khuddaka-dvārāni.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, I, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> *Dīghanikāya*, II, pp. 115-6: *Ekañ idāham Ānanda samayam Rājagāhe viharāmi Gijjhakūṭe pabbate.... Nigrodhārāme.... Chora-papāte.... Vebhāra-passe Sattapañña (Sattapāññi) guhāyam.... Isigili-passe Kālasilāyam.... Sitavane Sappaeonḍika-pabbhāre.... Tapodārāme.... Veluvane Kalandakanivāpe..... Jivakambavane.... Maddakuchchhismim Migaddye.*

<sup>9</sup> *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, pp. 79-80.

papāta. There verily I dwelt in Rājagaha in the Sattapanṇa or Sattapanṇī cave on one side of the Vebhāra mountain. There verily I dwelt in Rājagaha on Kālasilā on a side of the Isigili mountain. There verily I dwelt in Rājagaha in Sītavana in a slope of the hill called Sappasoṇḍika-pabbhāra. There verily I dwelt in Rājagaha in the retreat called Tapodārāma. There verily I dwelt in Rājagaha on the site called Veluvana Kalandaka-nivāpa. There verily I dwelt in Rājagaha in Jīvaka's Mango-grove. There verily I dwelt at the Maddakuchchhi Deer-park".

"Delightful is Rājagaha, delightful is the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, delightful is the Gotama-nigrodha, delightful are the Chora-papāta, the Sattapanṇī-guhā on a side of the Isigili mountain, the Sappasoṇḍika-slope in Sītavana, the Tapodārāma, the Veļuvana Kalandaka-nivāpa, the mango-grove of Jīvaka, and the Maddakuchchhi Deer park.<sup>1</sup>

The *Vinaya Chullavagga* (IV. 4) contains another interesting list of the Buddhist sites of importance in and about Rājagrīha which excludes the name of Nigrodhārāma and Veluvana Kalandaka-nivāpa of the above list but includes three new names:—Gomata-Kandarā, Tinduka-kandarā, and Topoda-kandarā.<sup>2</sup>

To these may be added a few other names met with in the Pali Canon and the rest of Buddhist literature:—

*Pippali-guhā*,<sup>3</sup> *Kapota-kandarā*,<sup>4</sup> *Sappini-tūra*,<sup>5</sup> *Indakūṭa*,<sup>6</sup> *Paṭibhāṇakūṭa*,<sup>7</sup> *Ambasandā*,<sup>8</sup> *Vediyaka-pabbate* *Indasāla-guhā*,<sup>9</sup> *Paribbājakārāma* of *Udumbarikā*,<sup>10</sup> *Latthivana*,<sup>11</sup> *Pāsāṇaka-chetiya*,<sup>12</sup> *Nālakagāma*,<sup>13</sup> *Varaka*,<sup>14</sup> *Nālandā*,<sup>15</sup> *Pāvārika-ambavana*,<sup>16</sup> *Pāṭaligāma*,<sup>17</sup> *Rājāgāraka* at *Ambalatthikā*,<sup>18</sup> and *Ekanālā* in *Dakkhināgiri*.<sup>19</sup>

Gijjhakūṭa (Gridhrakūṭa) was one of the five hills that surrounded Girivraja which was the *antonagara* (inner area) of Rājagrīha. The name does not occur in records other than those of the Buddhists. Buddhaghosa accounts for the name thus:

<sup>1</sup> *Digha-nikāya*, II, pp. 116-7: "Ramaṇiyam Rājagaham, ramaṇiyo Gijjhakūṭo pabbato, ramaṇiyo Gotama-nigrodho, ramaṇiyo Chora-papāto, ramaṇiyo Vebhāra-passe Sattapanṇī-guhā, ramaṇiyo Isigili-passe Kālasilā, ramaṇiyo Sītavane Sappasoṇḍikapabbhāro, ramaṇiyo Tapodārāmo, ramaṇiyo Veluvane Kalandaka-nivāpo, ramaṇiyam Jīvakambavaṇam, ramaṇiyo Maddakuchchhismim migadāyo.

<sup>2</sup> *Vinaya Pitaka*, II, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Udāna*, I, 6. III, 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 206.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 449.

<sup>8</sup> & <sup>9</sup> *Digha-nikāya*, II, p. 263.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 36.

<sup>11</sup> *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, 22, 1, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, v. 1013.

<sup>13</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, IV, p. 251.

<sup>14</sup> *Faüsboll, Jātaka*, I, p. 391.

<sup>15</sup> & <sup>16</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, p. 371.

<sup>17</sup> *Digha-nikāya*, II, p. 84.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 172.

The mountain was called Gijjhakūṭa or 'Vulture-peak' either because it had a vulture-like peak or because the vultures used to dwell on its peak.<sup>1</sup> As for its topography, we are told that it stood to the south of Vepulla,<sup>2</sup> that it could be 'approached from the eastern gate of the city<sup>3</sup>', that Jīvaka's mango-grove stood between it and the city-wall<sup>4</sup>, that the Buddha used to take his daily exercise at its back 'in the western shade' between two peaks<sup>5</sup>, that the Kālasīla on a side of Isigili was so situated in front of it that a person could easily watch from it the action of certain other persons on the former<sup>6</sup> and that the Deerpark at Maddakuchchhī lay near about it<sup>7</sup>.

The Nigrodhārāma, otherwise called Gotama-nigrodha, was, as its name implies, a retreat marked by the presence of a banyan tree. It was situated somewhere at Rājagaha. Its location cannot be determined in the absence of any information on the point.

The Chora-papāta was, as its name signifies, a precipice of a hill of Rājagaha from which the thieves or condemned criminals were thrown down. The location of the precipice is still unknown.

The Sattapanñi or Sattapanna cave on a side of Vebhāra is the historical site where the First Buddhist Council was convoked. The cave evidently derived its name from the Saptaparna or Saptaparni creeper which stood beside it, marking it out. The Pali accounts are silent as to the side or slope of the hill on which it was situated<sup>8</sup>. According to the Mahāvastu, however, it stood on the north side, on an excellent slope of the Vaihaya (? Vaihāra) mountain adorned with various trees and a rocky floor<sup>9</sup>. This agrees with the account of Fa-Hien which, too, places the cave 'on the north of the hill, in the shade.' According to Fa-Hien, 'the cavern called Srataparna could be reached by going to the west for five or six li (a mile) from the Pippala cave which, too, stood on the north of the same hill. The same was practically the distance of the cave from the 'Karanda Bamboo garden' which lay to the north-east just 300 paces from the Pippala cave<sup>10</sup>. Hwen Thsang, apparently in agreement with Fa-Hien, locates the cave "about five or six li south-west from the Bamboo Park, on the north side of the south Mountain in a great Bamboo wood<sup>11</sup>." If these

<sup>1</sup> Papañcha-sūdanī, II, p. 63 : *Tasse pabbatassa gijjhāsadisam kūtan atthi, tasmā Gijjhakūṭo 'ti vuchhati. Gijjhā vā tassa kūtesu nivasanti 'pi Gijjhakūṭo ti vuchhati.* Cf. *Sutta Nipāta* Commentary, p. 413 (P. T. S.).

<sup>2</sup> Samyutta-nikāya, II, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Sumanāgala-vilāsinī, I, p. 150 : *So pāchinadvārena nikhamitvā pabbatuchchhāyām pāvisi.*

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., I, p. 150 : *Jivabasse Ambaranām pākārassa cha Gijjhakūṭassa cha antarā hoti.*

<sup>5</sup> Vinaya Chullavagga, VII, 3.9 : *Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭassa pabbatassa pachchhayāyām chañkamati. Atha kho Devadatto Gijjhakūṭam pabbatam abhirūhite mahantam silam pavijjhi . . . Dve pabbata-kūṭa samāgantrā tam silam sampatichchhīmusu.*

<sup>6</sup> Majjhima-nikāya, I, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Vinaya Mahāvagga, ii, 5.3.

<sup>8</sup> Mahāvamsa, III, v. 19. But from the arrangement of seats for the bhikkhus it may appear that the cave faced north.

<sup>9</sup> Mahāvastu, I, p. 70 : *Parvatasya Vaihāyavarasya uttarasmīn tire varapārśve, Vividha-pādape silātala-bhumeḥ bhāge yaṁ bhavatu dharmasamāsthā.*

<sup>10</sup> Legge's Fa-Hien, pp. 84-5.

<sup>11</sup> Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, p. 159.

accounts be true, it becomes difficult to justify Cunningham's identification of the *guhā* with the Son Bhāndar cave on a southern slope of the Vaibhāragiri.

Buddhaghosa explains the name Kālasilā as signifying a black rock on a slope or side of Isigili<sup>1</sup>. The rock stood so close to Gijhakūṭa that it was possible for the Buddha to watch from the latter hill when the *Nirgranthas* (Jain ascetics) were practising difficult penances there<sup>2</sup>. The name Isigili was evidently a Māgadhi or local form of the Sanskrit Rishigiri, meaning a 'Hermit-hill.' The name in its Prakrit spelling acquired, even in the Buddha's time, a popular etymology, which, though fantastic, is not without some importance of its own: *Isi gilatīti Isigili*. "Isigili (Rishigili) is the mountain that swallowed up the hermit teachers<sup>3</sup>."

Sītavana was the name of a *susāna-vana* or 'Cemetery-grove'<sup>4</sup>. The site was used for a *sivathikā* or 'charnel-field' where the dead bodies were thrown or left to undergo a natural process of decay<sup>5</sup> or to be eaten and destroyed by carnivorous beasts, birds and worms<sup>6</sup>. The grove or field was enclosed by some sort of a wall and fitted with doors that remained usually closed during night<sup>7</sup>. Near by was the Sappasonḍika-pabbhāra, a snake-hood-like declivity of the neighbouring rock<sup>8</sup>. The grove evidently lay between the residence of the Banker of Rājagriha and the city on one side, and the declivity, on the other. For it was on coming out of the Banker's house and of the city (*nagaramhā nikhamma*) that the Banker Anāthapiṇḍika came across the cemetery or charnel-field. According to Fa-Hien, the *shi-mo-she-na* (śmaśāna) stood two or three li (half a mile) to the north of Venuvana, which latter lay 'some 300 paces north of the old town, on the west side of the road'.<sup>9</sup> According to Legge's rendering, Venuvana could be reached by 'going out from the old city, after walking over 300 paces, on the west of the road'.<sup>10</sup> There is a perfect agreement between Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang as regards the location of Venuvana, for the latter pilgrim, too, places the famous monastery 'above one li from the north gate of the Mountain-city'.<sup>11</sup> Hwen Thsang does not, however, refer to the charnel-field, while Fa-Hien refers to it only 'parenthetically'.<sup>12</sup> The reference to the śmaśāna on the part of Fa-Hien is relevant as he wanted to locate the Pippala-cave, a 'stone-cell' or 'dwelling among the rocks' in relation to Venuvana. Going by the direction given by Fa-Hien, the Pippala-cave was situated on the

<sup>1</sup> *Papañcha-sūdanī*, II, (P. T. S.) p. 63: *Isigilipasse 'ti Isigili-pabbatassa passe. Kālasilāyan ti Kālavanna pitthipāsāne.*

<sup>2</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Sāratthappakāśinī*, Siamese Ed., III, p. 17: *Sītavane 'ti evam-nāmake susāna-vane.*

<sup>5</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, pp. 210-211.

<sup>6</sup> See *Mahāsatipatthāna-Suttanta*, *Digha-nikāya*, II, pp. 295-296 for the fate of a corpse in Sivathikā.

<sup>7</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 211.

<sup>8</sup> *Sāratthappakāśinī*, Siamese Ed., III, p. 17: *Sappasoydi kapabbhāre 'ti sappa-phana-sadisatāya evamladdha-nāme pabbhāre.*

<sup>9</sup> Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. ix.

<sup>10</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 84.

<sup>11</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 156.

<sup>12</sup> Marshall's *Rājagrha and its Remains*, A. S. I., Report for 1905-6, p. 96: Fa-Hien does not say that he went from the Bamboo Garden to the Pippala stone house by way of the śmasāna.

north face of Vaibhāragiri, which lay to the south of the *śmaśāna*. The cave itself stood some 300 paces south-west from the charnel-field<sup>1</sup>. If this is at all correct, we may not go far wrong to suggest that the snake-hood declivity, mentioned in Pali literature in connection with Sītavana, is no other than the spacious slope under a few rock-cut caves on the north face of the *Vaibhāra* hill, a little to the west of the hot springs and a little to the north below the Jaina temple.

Gomatakandarā, Tinduka-kandarā and Tapodakandarā are the three sites that served as suitable retreats for Buddhist bhikkhus and accordingly find mention in the Vinaya list. The Tinduka-kandarā was obviously a site marked by a natural cavern in the rock made known by a Tinduka tree which grew beside it. And the Tapoda-kandarā must have been a similar site with a natural cavern in the rock near some hot springs. It is not improbable that the site is no other than the place called Tapoban. Similarly Gomata-kandarā was a site with another natural cavern in the rock.

The Tapodārāma was a retreat for the Buddhist monks near about the hot springs, near about the Tapoda stream, near about the Tapoda lake or pool. The hot springs are associated by Buddhaghosa, as we saw, with Vebhāra, and the Tapoda lake on which the retreat stood was formed by the water carried by the Tapodā stream. This retreat was completely forgotten, as ably pointed out by D. N. Sen, when the Chinese pilgrims visited Rājagṛīha<sup>2</sup>. We may readily suppose with D. N. Sen that the Tapodā of Buddhist fame is no other stream than the Sarasvatī. The retreat itself could not be far from the north-gate of the 'inner city', and its site may probably be identified with one at the north-east corner of the Vaibhāragiri with a small mound on its south end.

The Veluvana or Venuvana was a charming garden, park or grove at Rājagaha which was surrounded by bamboos<sup>3</sup>. It has accordingly been represented in English by 'Bamboo Garden', 'Bamboo Park', or 'Bamboo Grove', all meaning the same site of the land received as gift for the first time by the Buddha. The fuller name of the site was Veļuvana Kalandaka-nivāpa, the second part of the name indicating that here the Kalandakas or Kalakas (squirrels or jays) freely roamed about and found a nice feeding ground<sup>4</sup>. The Buddhist legends differ as to who was the original owner and real donor of the site<sup>5</sup>. But certain it is that in the Pali accounts king Bimbisāra figures as the former owner and real donor of the garden. It is also certain that the site was outside the 'inner city' and 'neither very near nor far from it.' D. N. Sen correctly refers to a Pali story relating how king Bimbisāra was sometime 'compelled to come to the Venuvana-vihāra as he was detained too long waiting for his bath in the Tapoda and found the city gate closed when he was returning after the bath<sup>6</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>2</sup> *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Veluvanan ti tassa uyyānassa nāmam. Tam kira veluhi cha parikkhittān ahosi . . . tena Veluvanan ti vuchhati.* Cf. *Sutta Nipāta commentary*, p. 419.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalandakānañ cha 'ttha nivāparū adamsu, tena Kalandaka-nivāpo 'ti vuchhati.* Cf. *Sutta Nipāta Commentary*, p. 419.

<sup>5</sup> See Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 156-58.

<sup>6</sup> *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 4.

story is important just for the indication that the site was the Tapoda lake and the Tapoda retreat on the north side of Girivraja and near its northern gate. Fa-Hien definitely informs us that the Karanda Bamboo Garden stood to the north of the old city, over 300 paces from the gate, on the west side of the road. The *smaśāna* or 'charnel field' lay to the north of the *vihāra*, two or three li from it, while the Pippala-cave was 'a dwelling among the rocks', 300 paces south-west from Venuvana<sup>1</sup>. Hwen Thsang recording a few other details tells us that the *Kalanda Bamboo Park* stood 'above one li from the north gate of the Mountain-city.' 'Above 200 paces to the north of the Bamboo Park chapel was the Kalanda Tank now without any water. Two or three li to the north-west of this was an Asoka tope, beside which was a stone pillar.' 'Not far to the north-east from this was Rājagrīha city the outer wall of which was utterly destroyed; the foundations of the inner wall stood prominently and were above 20 li (4 miles) in circuit with one gate<sup>2</sup>.' According to Hwen Thsang, the Pippala cave stood 'to the west of the hot springs' of the *Pi-pu-lo* (*i.e.*, Vaibhāra) mountain<sup>3</sup>. Thus combining the two accounts, we must locate the site of Kalanda Venuvana 300 paces or one li from the north gate of the 'inner city', half a mile south of the *smaśāna*, 300 paces north-east of the Pippala cave in Mt. Vaibhāra, and 200 paces to the south of the Kalanda Tank. We should thank the Chinese travellers if they had not confused the Tapodārāma, at least partly, with Venuvana.

The next site claiming our attention is Jivaka-ambavana. Jivaka converted the orchard into a *vihāra* and made a gift of it to the Buddha and his order. The Pali *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta* tells us that king Ajātasattu of Magadha had to go out of the city of Rājagaha in order to reach this orchard. The Sutta is silent as to the route or direction followed by the king. He was escorted, of course, by Jivaka<sup>4</sup>. In the commentary, however, Buddhaghosa informs us that the king proceeded by the eastern gate of the city the 'inner city of Rājagaha', under the cover of the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, because the Mango-grove stood somewhere between this mountain and the citywall<sup>5</sup>. It was nearer to Jivaka's residence than Venuvana<sup>6</sup>. Fa-Hien places it at the 'north-east corner of the city in a (large) curving (space)<sup>7</sup>'. Hwen Thsang, too, locates the site 'in a bend of the mountain wall', north-east from the (old) city<sup>8</sup>. According to Watters' suggestion, based upon a Chinese account in the *Fo-shuo-sheng-ching*, Ch. II, the orchard 'was apparently in the inclosure between the city proper and the hills which formed its outer defences on the east side<sup>9</sup>'.

The Deer-park at Maddakuchchhī was another important site in or about Rājagaha. Buddhaghosa takes Maddakuchchhī to be the actual name of the

<sup>1</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>2</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 162-163.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, pp. 47, 49: *Rājagahāmā niyyāsi*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sumangala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 150: *Jivakassa ambavanam pākārassa cha Gijjhakūṭassa cha antarā hoti. So pācina-dvārena nikkhāmitrā pabbatachchhāyam pāvisei*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 133: *Idañ cha Veñuvanam atidūre, mayham pana uyyānam Ambavanam āsannatarasi*.

<sup>7</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 150.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 151.

park where the antelopes were allowed to live freely, without fear, and offers the following fanciful explanation for the origin of the name: "The park came to acquire the name Maddakuchchhi or 'Rub-belly' from the circumstance that here Bimbisāra's queen, mother of Ajātasattu, tried to cause abortion with a view to killing the inimical child in the womb by getting her belly rubbed<sup>1</sup>." But the Pali statement, *ramanīyo Maddakuchchhismim migadāyo*, 'delightful is the Deer-park at Maddakuchchhi,' leaves no room for doubt that Maddakuchchhi itself was not intended to be the name of the park concerned. The import of this descriptive name is that the Deer-park was situated either near Maddakuchchhi or within it. We have reason to suspect that Maddakuchchhi<sup>2</sup> was somehow only a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *adri-kuksī*<sup>3</sup>, which has the same meaning as the Pali *pabbata-kuchchhi*, 'a curve in the hill'. The site was apparently on the plains and occupied a space near a curve in one of the hills of Rājagaha. It must have been very near to Gijjhakūṭa, otherwise there is no reason why the *bhikkhus* should think of carrying the Master in a stretcher to it<sup>4</sup> after he had got hurt by a piece of stone. The site of this ancient park is probably no other than a large enclosed space to the west of the Udayagiri and placed at a curve of the eastern end of the Sonagiri, on its northern side, at a south-east corner of Rajgir.

The *Pippali-guhā* or *Pipphali-guhā* was a solitary cave which became a favourite resort of Mahākassapa<sup>5</sup>. There are some later Pali accounts that show that the cave was used by the great Thera only for meditation<sup>6</sup>. Fa-Hien knew it to be 'a dwelling among the rocks...in which Buddha regularly sat in meditation after taking his (midday) meal'<sup>7</sup>, while according to Hwen Thsang it was a cave 'in which the Buddha often lodged<sup>8</sup>'. The Pali works record only one instance of the Buddha's presence at this cave when he went to see Mahākassapa when the latter fell seriously ill<sup>9</sup>. As explained by the Pali scholiasts, the cave was called Pippali or Papphalī because it was marked by a Pippali or Pipphali tree which stood beside it<sup>10</sup>. Both Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang have represented it as Pippala-guhā or 'the Pippala cave.' This name is also not unknown to Buddhist works in Pali<sup>11</sup>, and Sanskrit<sup>12</sup>. It would seem that the tree which

<sup>1</sup> *Sāratthappakāśinī*, I, p. 77: *Maddakuchchhismin ti evamnāmake uyyāne. Tamhi Ajātasattumhi kuchchhigate tassa mātarā, ayam mayham kuchchhigato gabbho rañño sattu bhavissati. Kim me iminā? ti, gabbha-pātan' attahā tattha kuchchhi maddāpitā. Tasmā Maddakuchchhi ti sañkham gatam. Migānam pana abhaya-vas'atthāya dinnattā Migadāyo 'ti vuchhati.*

<sup>2</sup> Another example of such a Magadhan name is afforded by *Machalagāma* (Fausboll's *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 199), which was apparently a distorted spelling of *Achalagāma*.

<sup>3</sup> For the use of *adri-kuksī*, see Monier William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

<sup>4</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 110; *Sāratthappakāśinī*, I, p. 78: *Te tathāgatāñ mañcha-sivikāya Maddakuchchhim nayimeu.*

<sup>5</sup> *Udāna*, I, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Dhammapada-Commentary*, II, pp. 19-21, D. N. Sen's *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 79.

<sup>10</sup> *Udāna-vāṇṇanā*, Siamese Ed., p. 77: *Tassa kira guhāya dvāra-samipe eko pipphali-rukkho akosi, tena sa Pipphali-guhā 'ti paññāyittha.*

<sup>11</sup> *Dhammapada-Commentary*, II, p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, *Patala*, LIII, p. 588: *guhalino 'tha Paipale.*

marked out the cave was *Pippala* (*Ficus religiosa*) rather than *Pippali* or *Pippalli*. The Pali scholiasts apparently failed to notice that a feminine form of *Pippala* had to be used to make it square with *guhā*. The Pali works do not precisely tell us where, in which of the hills of Rājagaha, was the cave situated, but they seem to indicate that it was not far from Venuvana<sup>1</sup>. The Mañjuśri-Mūlakalpa places it in the *Varāha* mountain<sup>2</sup>, while, according to Fa-Hien, it was only 300 paces south-west from the Karanda Venuvana, and situated in the mountain which lay to the south of this monastery<sup>3</sup>. In some of the Chinese accounts it is placed 'in the Vulture-peak mountain'<sup>4</sup>. But Hwen Thsang definitely locates it on the *Pi-pu-lo* (i.e., Vaibhāra) mountain, to the west of the hot springs. He tells us that 'through the rock at the back of this was a passage into the Asur's Palace in which bhikshus practising samādhi lodged<sup>5</sup>. The Asur's Palace mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim cannot possibly be taken to refer to what is now-a-days known as Jarāsandha's Baithak<sup>6</sup>. For all that he meant by it was an under-ground hall-like space into which the passage led<sup>7</sup>.

Sumāgadha was the name of a well-known tank, which stood somewhere in the 'outer city' of Rājagaha.<sup>8</sup> From the location suggested in the Pali text it is evident that it was situated near about *Gijjhakūṭa*. There was a Moranivāpa or 'Peacocks' feeding ground' on the bank of this tank.<sup>9</sup>

The Paṭibhāna-kūṭa was a peak with a 'fearful precipice (*subhayānako papāto*), in the neighbourhood of Gijjhakūṭa<sup>10</sup>. Buddhaghosa informs us that the Paṭibhānakūṭa was only a boundary rock which looked like a large mountain.<sup>11</sup> The Pali scholiast may be so far right when he suggests that the *kūṭa* marked a boundary, but he has altogether missed the significance of its name *Paṭibhāna*, 'the echoing'. No other meaning can be reasonably made out of the word *Paṭibhāna*. Even now there is a peak at the eastern end of the Sona-giri,<sup>12</sup> opposite to the Udayagiri, which echoes the sounds. This is certainly a boundary rock, because the southern gate of the city lies just between it and the Udayagiri, identified by us with Gijjhakūṭa.

The *Samyutta-nikāya* mentions Indakūṭa as a mountain in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha. On this mountain was the dwelling of Indaka Yakkha,

<sup>1</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Mañjuśri-Mūlakalpa, p. 588: *Magadhānam Jane śreshṭhe Kuśagrapurivāśinām parvatam tatsamīpan tu Varāham nāma, nāmata' Tatrāsau dhyāyate bhikshubh guhālino 'tha Paipale.*

<sup>3</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> D. N. Sen's *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Sir John Marshall assuming that by the *Pi-pu-lo* mountain Hwen Thsang meant the *Vipulagiri*, suggests that the *Pippala* stone house stands near the foot of the *Vipula* hill behind the *Suraj Kund* and some 270 yards to the east of the site of Venuvana. *A. S. I. Report for 1905-6*, p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 447; *Sāratthappakāśini*, Siamese Ed., III, p. 412: *Sumāgadhbāya pokkharaṇiyā 'ti-erāmnāmikīya pokkharaṇiyā.*

<sup>9</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, III, pp. 38-39: *Bhagavā Gijjhakūṭa pabbatā orohitvā yena Sumāgadhbāya tīre Mora-nivāpo ten' upasankami.*

<sup>10</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 448.

<sup>11</sup> *Sāratthappakāśini*, Siamese Ed., III, p. 413: *Paṭibhānakūṭo 'ti eko mahanto pabbatasadiso mariyādā-pāśāya.*

<sup>12</sup> D. N. Sen inclines to identify the *kūṭa* with Sailagiri. See *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 13.

presumably a prehistorical sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> As *Buddhaghosa* suggests, either the hill derived its name from the Yakkha or the Yakkha derived his name from the hill.<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit *Indraka* is an architectural term, meaning a council-hall. It might be that the abode of the Yakkha concerned was just a hall-like stone-structure, marked by the presence of a sacred tree. The Indakūṭa mountain seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Gijjhakūṭa, and it stood, perhaps, either opposite to or beside the latter.<sup>3</sup>

The Jaina *Uvāsaga-dasāo* refers to the site of an ancient shrine, called Gunasilā in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha.<sup>4</sup> The *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, too, mentions this shrine in the most eloquent terms as a site where Lord Mahāvīra sojourned with his disciples.<sup>5</sup>

*Ambasanda* (*Āmrakhaṇḍa*) is mentioned in the Pali *Sakkapañha-Suttanta* as a Brahmin village, which was situated to the east of Rājagaha.<sup>6</sup> The village was called Ambasanda or 'Mango-tract', because there were mango-tracts not far from it.<sup>7</sup> The village which is placed in the text outside the area of Rājagaha but within Magadha is introduced just to indicate the location of the *Indasāla-guhā* in the Vediyaka mountain which stood to the north of it.<sup>8</sup> The cave had an *Inda-sāla* tree at its door. As *Buddhaghosa* informs us, it was a pre-existing cave between two hills. But the particular hill in which it was actually situated was called Vediyaka or Vediya for no other reason than this that it was surrounded on all sides by altar-shaped blue rocks.<sup>9</sup> Neither the text nor the commentary refers to any river in the neighbourhood of this hill. Cunningham, as we know, identifies the Vediyaka mountain with Giryek, and the Indasāla cave with a natural cavern, called Gidha-dwār, in the southern face of the mountain, at 2 miles to the south-west of the village of Giryek and 1 mile from Jarāsandha's Tower (*Jarāsandha-kā-Baithak*), about 250 feet above the bed of the Bāṅgāṅgā rivulet.<sup>10</sup> According to Hwen Thsang, the mountain in which the cave was situated 'had two peaks' and its 'sombre gorges were covered with vegetation'. It was 'in the precipitous south side of the west peak' that the 'broad low-cave' was to be seen.<sup>11</sup> Hwen Thsang's description agrees so far with *Buddhaghosa*'s account that the cave is placed on a site of two peaks or mountains,

<sup>1</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 206: *Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati. Indakūṭe pabbate Indakassa Yakkhassa bhavane.* For *Indaka*, see also *Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā*, pp. 136-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāratthappakṣiṇī*, I, p. 300: *Indakassa ti Indakūṭa-nirāśino Yakkhassa. Yakkhato hi kūṭena, kūṭato ca Yak-khena nāmam laddham.*

<sup>3</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 206, note that Gijjhakūṭa is introduced in the text immediately after *Indakūṭa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, VIII, 231: *Rāyagihe nayare Guṇasile cheiye.*

<sup>5</sup> *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 22:

*Atra chasid Gunasi (si) lam chaityam Saityakaranā drisam.*

*Sri-viro yatra samavasasara ganasah prabhuh.*

<sup>6</sup> *Dīghanikāya*, II, p. 263: *pāchinato Rājagahassa Ambasandā nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo.*

<sup>7</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāśinī*, III, p. 697: *So kira gāmo ambasandanām avidure nirvitho.*

<sup>8</sup> *Dīghanikāya*, II, p. 263: *tass' uttarato Vediyake pabbate Indasāla-guhāyam.*

<sup>9</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāśinī*, III, p. 697: *Pubbe 'pi sa dvinnām pabbatānām antare guhā. Indasāla-rukkho chassa dvāre . . . So kira pabbato pabbata-pāde jātena manivedika-sadisena nilavanasañdena samantā parikkhitto, taemā Vediyapabbato.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 540-541.

<sup>11</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 173.

and it differs from the latter in so far as it locates the cave on the south side of the west peak instead of between the two peaks. The two accounts may, no doubt, be harmonised if the Pali scholiast's statement be taken to mean that the cave was between two hills, one belonging to the northern range of the Rajgir hills and the other to the southern. It is difficult to accept Fa-Hien's description of the mountain as 'a small solitary rocky hill, at the head or end of which was an apartment of stone, facing the south'.<sup>1</sup> There is much truth in Fergusson's opinion that Fa-Hien misunderstood the hill of Bihar-Sarif for the 'Indra's cave mountain'. For going by the description of Buddhaghosa and Hwen Thsang, we are not to look for the cave in a 'solitary small hill' but on a spot between two mountains or in a place where there was a mountain with two peaks.<sup>2</sup>

Sappinī occurs as the name of a river or rivulet in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha. The Sappinī, as its name implies, was a stream with a winding course. The Buddha used to sojourn occasionally on its bank.<sup>3</sup> In one text the location of the river is suggested broadly with reference to the city, and in another we are told that the Buddha walked from the Gijjhakūṭa to the Sappinītīra, which was noted then for a large retreat of the Wanderers.<sup>4</sup> If Sappinī be, as one may be inclined to think, no other than the modern Pañchāna river, we must suppose that it flowed in the Buddha's time on the south side of the city and in its immediate neighbourhood, whereas it has now gone off to the east end of the range of Rajgir hills.

The *paribbājakārāma* of Udumbarikā was a notable retreat built for the Wanderers in the landed estate of *Udumbara-devī* in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha and Gijjhakūṭa.<sup>5</sup> It was evidently a few paces from the Mora-nivāpa on the bank of the Sumāgadha tank.<sup>6</sup>

The Latthivana (Skt. *Yashtivana*) was the name of the royal park of Bimbisāra where the Buddha arrived from *Gayāsīsa* (the main hills of Gayā) and halted with the Jatīla converts on his way to the city of *Rājagriha*.<sup>7</sup> The Latthivana was just a 'palm-grove' (*tāluyyāna*) according to Buddhaghosa.<sup>8</sup> The grove which was situated in the outskirts of the city of *Rājagaha* (*Rājagahana-garupachāre*) was considered 'far away' (*atidure*) as compared with Venuvana.<sup>9</sup> The distance between the city and the palm-grove by a road which connected the two places is said to have been 3 *gāvutas* (6 miles).<sup>10</sup> The grove was noted in

<sup>1</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 541, for Cunningham's justification of Fa-Hien.

<sup>3</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 153: *Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Sappinī-tīre. Sāratthappakāśini*, I, p. 219: *Sappinī-nāmikāya nadiyā tīre.*

<sup>4</sup> *Anguttara-nikāya*, II, pp. 29, 176: *Ekam samayam Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūṭe pabbate. Tena kho pana samayena sambahulā abhiññātā abhiññātā paribbājakā Sappinīyā tīre paribbājakārāme paṭivasantī.*

<sup>5</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, III, p. 36: *Sumangula-vilāśini*, III, p. 832: *Udumbarikāya deviyā santake paribbājakārāme.*

<sup>6</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, III, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, p. 35: *Bhagavā Gayāsīse yathā-bhirantam viharite . . . anupubbena chārikam chara-māno yena Rājagaham tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Latthivanuyyāne Supatitthe-chetiye.* Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> *Samanta-pāśādikā*, Commentary on the *Mahāvagga*, Ceylonese Ed., p. 158: *Latthivane 'ti 'tāluyyāne.*

<sup>9</sup> Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 85; Cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 84: *tigāvuto maggo.*

the Buddha's time for a 'Banyan shrine', called *Suppatittha-chetiya*.<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that the site lay to the west or south-west of Rājagaha.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahāvastu* locates it in the interior of a hill (*antagirismim*).<sup>3</sup> Hwen Thsang describes Yashṭivāna as 'a dense forest of bamboos which covered a mountain', and points out that above 10 li (nearly 2 miles) to the south-west of it were two hot springs.<sup>4</sup> But he accounts for the name of the site, Yashṭivana or 'Stick-wood', by a legend which is 'not in agreement with other Buddhist texts'. As Watters remarks: "These books tell us that when he (the Buddha) proceeded from the neighbourhood of the Bodhi Tree to pay his first visit, as the Buddha, to Rājagrīha, he rested on the way in Yashṭivana, the Stick (or Staff) wood. As a variant for Yashṭi we find Lashtī, and there are the two Pali forms Yatṭhi and Latṭhi. Moreover, we find the place called . . . *Subhalatṭhi* with the word for trees added. It is called in the books a garden or park and in others a mountain. In it was a noted shrine called the *Supratishṭha-chaitya*. This Supratishṭha (in Pali *Supatittha*), was the god of a banyan tree in the wood, and the chaitya, at which Buddha lodged, was apparently only the foot of the banyan . . . ."

In one book it is said to be 40 li from Rājagrīha, and it was evidently to the west of that city, and not far from it. It is still, according to Cunningham, 'well-known as the Jakhti-ban, which is only the Hindi form of the Sanskrit word' . . . the two Hot springs . . . are still, Cunningham tells us, to be found 'at a place called *Tapoban*'.<sup>5</sup>

The *Pāśānaka-chetiya* (*Pāshāna-chaitya*) is famous in Buddhist tradition as the place where the Buddha had delivered the *Pārāyanā* Discourses,<sup>6</sup> now embodied in the concluding book of the *Sutta-nipāta*.<sup>7</sup> It lay evidently west or south-west of Rājagaha. The *Sutta-nipāta* commentary informs us that there was formerly a *devasthāna* or 'shrine' on a large stone, which became converted in the Buddha's time into a Buddhist retreat, known by the name of *Pāśānaka-chetiya* or 'Rock-shrine'.<sup>8</sup> Sakka is credited with the building of a mahāmaṇḍapa upon the rock (*Šakkena māpita-mahāmaṇḍape*).<sup>9</sup> It was situated in *Magadha-khetta* (the religious area of Magadha).<sup>10</sup> Dr. Barua who took this rock to be identical either with Gorathagiri (Barabar hills) or some hill near it<sup>11</sup> now authorises us to look for it in Hwen Thsang's Buddhavana, above 100 li (19 miles) north-east of the Kukkuṭapāda (*Kurkihar*) mountain. The Buddhavana mountain

<sup>1</sup> *Samanta-pāśādikā*, Commentary on *Mahāvagga*, Ceylonese Ed., p. 158: 'Suppatittha-chetiye 'ti annatarasmim vatarukkhe, tassa kir' etam nāman.

<sup>2</sup> D. N. Sen's *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 441.

<sup>4</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 147-148; *vide also Ancient Geography of India*, p. 529.

<sup>6</sup> *Commentary on the Chula-niddesa*, Siamese Ed., p. 270: *Pāśānaka-chetiye 'ti pāśāna-pitthe Pārāyanā-Suttanta-desitatthāne*.

<sup>7</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, pp. 218 foll.

<sup>8</sup> *Sutta-nipāta* Commentary, p. 584: *Pāśānakam chetiyam ti mahato pāśānassa upari pubbe devatthānam ahosi uppanne pana Bhagavati vihāro jāto*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 583: *Magadha-khetta pana tesam Pāśānaka-chetiyam*.

<sup>11</sup> *Gaya & Buddha-Gaya*, Vol. I, p. 84.

was, as seen by Hwen Thsang, a rock 'with lofty peaks and closely packed cliffs'. Buddha had rested in a cave in its steep side. At the side of this was a flat stone which *Sakra* and *Brahmā* used for grinding Oxhead Sandal. The Yashṭivana lay above 30 li (5 miles) to the east of it.<sup>1</sup>

The place where king Ajātaśatru is said to have built a *stūpa* for the enshrinement of his share of Buddha's relics<sup>2</sup> is undoubtedly an important site from the Buddhist point of view. Hwen Thsang definitely tells us that this *stūpa* or tope stood to the east of Venuvana.<sup>3</sup> There grew up among the Buddhists a later legend, according to which, the relics were miraculously collected from almost all the places where they were to be enshrined and deposited in one place at Rājagṛīha. A *stūpa* was caused to be built by Ajātaśatru at the instance of Mahākāśyapa to keep the relics preserved underground. The structure above ground was, according to Buddhaghosa, a *pāsāṇa-thūpa* or 'mound of stone'<sup>4</sup>. The *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* locates the *stūpa* on the east side of the city of Rājagṛīha and also probably to the east of Venuvana,<sup>5</sup> while Buddhaghosa places it at a south-east quarter of the city (*Rājagahassa pāchīna-dakkhiṇa-disābhāge*).<sup>6</sup>

The Rājāgāraka at Ambalaṭṭhikā was a garden house of king *Bimbisāra*.<sup>7</sup> As Buddhaghosa takes it, Ambalaṭṭhikā was an appropriate name for the royal park with a young mango-tree at its door.<sup>8</sup> We should rather think that Ambalaṭṭhikā was the locality where the royal garden house or park was situated. It stood midway between Rājagaha and Nālandā,<sup>9</sup> and was the first halting place on the high road which extended in the Buddha's time from Rājagaha to Nālandā and further east and north-east.<sup>10</sup>

The site of the *Bahuputta chetiya* (a sylvan shrine) is also placed midway between Rājagaha and Nālandā (*Samyutta Nikāya*, II, p. 220).

Nālandā, which became from the 6th century A.D. a great seat of Buddhist learning, was in the Buddha's time one of the halting stations on the high road connecting Rājagaha with *Pāṭaligāma*, *Koṭīgāma*, *Vesālī*, and the rest. Buddhaghosa knew it to be a town at a distance of one yojana (about 8 miles) from Rājagaha.<sup>11</sup> Cunningham identifies the ancient site with the modern village of

<sup>1</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, p. 166: *Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Rājagahē Bhagavato sarirānam thūpan cha mahān cha akāsi.*

<sup>3</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāsinī*, II, p. 613: It was not a mere 'secret under-ground store' as D. N. Sen thinks, see his *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, p. 600.

<sup>6</sup> *Gāthakumbhasuvinyastam dhātum prakshipya yatrataḥ Te 'tra pūrvena āyātā kshipram Rājagṛīham tada sthānam Venuvanam prāpya sthāpayāmāsa jinodbhavān.*

<sup>7</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāsinī*, II, p. 611.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 41: Ambalaṭṭhikā 'ti rāñño uyyānam tassa kira dvāra-samipe taruṇo amba-rukkho atthi, tam ambalaṭṭhikā 'ti vadanti. Tasse avidure bhavattā uyyānam pī Ambalaṭṭhikā t'eva sankham gatam.

<sup>10</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, p. 1: antarā cha Rājagaham antarā cha Nālandam. *Sumāṅgala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 35: *Rājagahassa cha Nālandāya cha vivare.*

<sup>11</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, pp. 72 foll.

<sup>12</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāsinī*, III, p. 873: Nālandāyan ti Nālandā ti evaṁ-nāmake nagare. Tam nagaram goohara-gāmarū katvā Pāvārik' Ambarane. *Ibid.*, I, p. 35: *Rājagahato pana Nālandā yojanam eva.*

Baragaon which lies at the northern end of the precincts of the Nālandā Mahā-vihāra. The Pali texts, however, refer not so much to Nālandā itself as to Pāvārika's Mango-grove in its vicinity as the real place of importance both to the Buddhists and the Jainas.<sup>1</sup> According to the tradition recorded by Hwen Thsang, "in a Mango Wood to the south of this monastery was a tank the dragon of which was called Nālandā and the name was given to the monastery. But the facts of the case were that Ju-lai (Buddha) as a P'usa (Bodhisattva) had once been a king with his capital here, that as king he had been honoured by the epithet Nālandā or 'Insatiable in giving' on account of his kindness and liberality, and that this epithet was given as its name to this monastery".<sup>2</sup> The Life of Hwen Thsang places Nālandā above seven yojanas (about 56 miles) north-east from *Mahābodhi*.<sup>3</sup>

The *Udāna* introduces us to *Kapota-kandarā*,<sup>4</sup> which *Dhammapāla* takes to be the name of a Buddhist retreat.<sup>5</sup> He accounts for the name thus: "Formerly the pigeons dwelt in that cavern of the mountain, from which circumstance the cavern came to be called Pigeon-cavern".<sup>6</sup> The Pali scholiast does not take into his consideration the fact that *Kapota-kandarā* occurs as a feminine form of the name. This place is mentioned in the *Udāna* as a locality at some distance from Rājagaha. Fa-Hien on his way from Pāṭaliputra to Rājagrīha arrived at a 'small solitary rocky hill', at the head or end of which was an apartment of stone, facing the south. The hill lay some nine yojanas (72 miles) south-east from Pāṭaliputra.<sup>7</sup> He inadvertently mistook the apartment of stone for the Indasāla-guhā, so famous in the tradition of the *Sakkapañha-Suttanta*. It is almost definite that his 'small solitary rocky hill' was no other than the hill at Bihar-Sarif. Hwen Thsang says that a journey of 150 or 160 li (24 or 26 miles) north-east from the Indasāla cave brought him to a Buddhist establishment called *Kapota* or 'Pigeon monastery'. Two or three li south from this monastery was 'a tall isolated hill well wooded and abounding in flowers and streams' and 'on the hill were numerous sacred buildings . . . . executed with consummate art'.<sup>8</sup>

Pāṭaligāma was a village of Magadha, which lay opposite to Koṭigāma on the other side of the Ganges which formed a natural boundary of the kingdom of *Magadha* and the territory of the Vṛiji-Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī. The Magadhan village was one of the halting stations on the high road which extended from Rājagaha to Vesālī and other places. The fortification of Pāṭaligāma which was undertaken in the Buddha's life-time by the two Brahmin ministers of Magadha led to the foundation of the city of Pāṭaliputra<sup>9</sup> to which the capital of

<sup>1</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Udāna*, IV, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Udāna-vannanā*, Siamese Ed., p. 307: *Kapota-kandarāyan ti evam-nāmake vihāre*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307: *Tasmim kira pabbatantare pubbe bahu kapota-kandarā 'ti vuchchatī*.

<sup>7</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> *Digha-nikāya*, II, p. 86 foll.; *Sumangala-vilāsinī*, II, p. 540.

Magadha was removed by Udāyi or Udāyibhadda, the son and successor of Ajātasattu.

Ekanālā was a Brahmin village in Dakkhinagiri, an important locality which lay to the south of the hills of Rājagaha. A Buddhist establishment was founded at Ekanālā in Dakkhinagiri.<sup>1</sup> The *Samyutta-nikāya* distinctly places it in the kingdom of Magadha, outside the area of Rājagaha.<sup>2</sup>

Nāla, Nālaka, Nālagāma or Nālakagāma was a village in Magadha, where Sāriputta died.<sup>3</sup> According to the *Mahāsudassana-Jātaka*, Sāriputta was born in the village of Nāla and died at a place called Varaka.<sup>4</sup> Fā-Hien says that a yojana (8 miles) south-west from the 'small solitary rocky hill' (which we have identified with the hill at Bihar-Sarif) was the village of Nāla where Sāriputra was born and where he attained his parinirvāna.<sup>5</sup> According to Hwen Thsang, the place of birth and death of Sāriputra was known at the time of his visit as Ka-lo-pi-na-ka, town which he places 23 or 24 li (about 4 miles) east and north-east from Kolika (Pali Kolita),<sup>6</sup> a village where Maudgalyāyana was born and where he died. The village of Kolika (a town according to Hwen Thsang) itself is located eight or nine li (1½ miles) south-west of the Nālandā Monastery.<sup>7</sup> The *Vimānavatthu* Commentary<sup>8</sup> locates Nālakagāma in the eastern part of Magadha.

Maṇimālaka-chetiya was an ancient sacred site in Magadha on which stood the mansion of Yakkha Maṇibhadda.<sup>9</sup> The shrine was probably no other than a sacred tree in which the *yakkha* dwelt.

Andhakavinda, Khānumata and Machalagāma are three other localities in Magadha which find mention in Pali literature. Of them, the first was connected with Rājagaha by a cart-road.<sup>10</sup>

Khānumata was a prosperous and flourishing Brahmin village somewhere in Magadha, where a Vedic institution was maintained on a land granted by king Bimbisāra.<sup>11</sup> The garden Ambalaṭṭhikā in the vicinity of Khānumata was the place which became the site of a Buddhist establishment.

Machalagāma was a well-laid village in Magadha, where the Sun-god and the Moon-god were worshipped by the people. The place was bedecked with roads, rest-houses, tanks and palatial buildings even long before the advent of the Buddha.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sāratthappakīśinī*, I, p. 242: *Dakkhinagirismin ti Rājagaham parivāretva thitassa girino dakkhina-bhāge janapado atthi. Tasmim janapade. Tathā vihārassā pi tad eva nāmam . . . Ekanālā ti tassa gāmassa nāmam.*

<sup>2</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 172: *Magadhesu viharati Dakkhinagirismin Ekanālāyām brāhmaṇa-gāme.*

<sup>3</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 391: *Law's Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Legge's *Fā-Hien*, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *Dhammapada-Commentary*, *Aggasāvakavatthu*, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> p. 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 208: *Bhagavā Magadhesu viharati Maṇimālaka chetiye Maṇibhaddassa yakkhassa bhavane.*

<sup>10</sup> *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, p. 109.

<sup>11</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, p. 127; *Sumangala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 294.

<sup>12</sup> Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, pp. 199-206; *Dhammapada-Commentary*, I, pp. 265-280; *Sumangala-vilāsinī*, III, pp.

### 3 ANTIQUITY AND HISTORY OF RĀJAGRīHA

We have seen that according to the Jaina tradition recorded in Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa*, Rājagrīha was not the first but rather the last name by which the capital of Magadha came to be known. Of the four earlier names, Kshitipratishṭha, Chanakapura, Vṛishabhapura, and Kuśāgrapura, mentioned in the Jaina account, one at least, namely, Kuśāgrapura, is met with in the *Si-yu-ki* of Hwen Thsang and the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa. Hwen Thsang's suggestion that 'the city derived its name (*Kuśāgrapura*) from the excellent fragrant reed-grass which abounded there' may be interesting but not true at all. In two of the names, Kuśāgrapura and Vṛishabhapura, one may find perpetuated the memory of two earlier kings of Magadha, Kuśagra and Vṛishabha, who figure as successors of *Vrihadratha* in the *Matsya-purāṇa* dynastic list of kings.<sup>1</sup> The city is certainly named Vasumatī after its founder Vasu,<sup>2</sup> and Bārhadrathapura after its king Bārhadratha or Jarāsandha.<sup>3</sup> The Jaina list of names excludes Girivraja altogether. The Chinese pilgrim, too, does not refer to this name by which the capital of Magadha was known in the Buddha's time and also in earlier times. Girivraja and Rājagrīha are indeed the two names by which the capital of Magadha (*Magadhapura*) has been represented in the *Mahābhārata* and throughout the Pali Canon, while only one name, Rāyagiha (Rājagrīha) is met with in the Jaina Āgama.

The ancient or earlier capital of Magadha was traditionally known in the Buddha's time as *Magadhānam Giribajam*, the 'Girivraja of the Magadhan people'. *Giri-parikkhepa*—'a girdle of hills', 'an inclosure of hills'—is rightly suggested by Buddhaghosa as being the literal meaning of Girivraja, which was a 'hill-girt city', a 'hill-fortress', or a vraja (fort or pasture) between the hills. The Chinese pilgrims have rightly described the city. According to Fa-Hien it was "a circular space formed by five hills which stand all round it, and have the appearance of the suburban wall of a city",<sup>4</sup> and according to Hwen Thsang it was "the centre of Magadha and its old capital", "the Mountain-city", with high hills forming its outer walls.<sup>5</sup>

Rājagrīha was just another name of the capital. But Hwen Thsang would have us believe that this name was strictly applicable to the new city built either by king *Bimbisāra* or by his son and successor, king Ajātaśatru, not far to the north-east from Venuvana.<sup>6</sup> Fa-Hien, too, speaks of the 'old city' and the 'new city'. By the old city Hwen Thsang distinctly means Kuśāgrapura and by the new city, he means the city which king Ajātaśatru made his capital. Hwen Thsang rightly interprets the name Rājagrīha as meaning "the king's abode," "the royal seat". The etymological speculations of the Pali scholiasts

<sup>1</sup> *Matsya-purāṇa*, Ch. 50; Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 32, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahābhārata*, II, 24, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>5</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chuang*, II, pp. 148, 156.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 162.

over the Pali form *gaha* of *griha*, Jaina *giha*, *gahabhūtattā paṭirājūnām*, "a risk for the invading kings" point only to the well-guarded position of the ancient city.

The Jaina Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa speaks of Rājagrīha as the residence of such kings and princes as Jarāsandha, Śrenīka, Kūṇika, Abhaya, Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandisheṇa.<sup>1</sup> Of them, Jarāsandha was no other than the most powerful king Jarāsandha of the Epic fame, Śrenīka was the king Senīya Bimbisāra of Pali literature, Kūṇika was no other than king Ajātasattu, son and successor of Bimbisāra. Abhaya was the same as Abhayarājakumāra, and Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandisheṇa were like Kūṇika and Abhaya, sons of Bimbisāra, presumably by different queens. According to the Jaina *Nirayāvaliyasutta*, Vehalla's mother was a daughter of Cetaka, the then king of Videha,<sup>2</sup> while according to Buddhist tradition, Ajātasattu was a son of Bimbisāra by a Videhan queen (*Ajatāsattu Vedehiputto*).<sup>3</sup> The Pali annals clearly attest that Bimbisāra also married Kosaladevī who was a sister to king Pasenadi (*Prasenajit*) of Kosala.<sup>4</sup> There is also mention of Uduṃbarikā devī, a royal lady, whose relation with Bimbisāra is not precisely known. But it is certain that Bimbisāra also married Khemā, a daughter of king Madda.<sup>5</sup> The Vinaya Mahavagga tells us that Bimbisāra had 500 wives.<sup>6</sup>

Kūṇika is represented throughout Jaina literature as a king of Aṅga who reigned in Champā. But the fact is that he was only the uparājā or viceroy of Aṅga, which formed an integral part of the kingdom of Magadha already during the reign of Bimbisāra. There are traditions, however, to show that Magadha was once included in the kingdom of Aṅga.<sup>7</sup> While a Viceroy of Aṅga, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru, picked up a quarrel with the Vṛiji-Lichchhavis of Vesālī over the possession of a mineral mine on the boundary of the two territories. The Pali commentator tradition says that Ajātaśatru was unable to defeat the Vṛiji-Lichchhavis on account of their national solidarity and numerical strength.<sup>8</sup> So after he had ascended the throne of Magadha, he became bent upon destroying the Vṛiji-Lichchhavis and uprooting their power. He deputed his minister Varshakāra to wait upon the Buddha and have his opinion regarding the future of the Vṛijis. On coming to know that the Buddha laid much stress on unity as the source of their national strength, Ajātaśatru employed two of his ministers, Sunīdha and Varshakāra to build a fort at Pāṭaligāma with a view to repel the Vṛijis (*Pāṭaligāme nagaram māpenti Vajjinam paṭibhāyā*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 22: "Yatra śrimān Jarāsandhaḥ Śreṇikāḥ Kūṇiko 'bhayaḥ Megha-Halla-Vihallāḥ Sri-Nandisheno 'pi chābhavaḥ."

<sup>2</sup> *Jaina sūtras*, I, S. B. E., p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, p. 47; II, p. 72. Kūṇiya (i.e. Ajātasattu) and Vehalla were sons of Senīya of Magadha by the same wife, the queen Chellānā, a daughter of king Chedaga of Vesālī. See *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, English-Tr. by Hoernle, App., p. 7 f. n.

<sup>4</sup> *Buddhist India*, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Therīgāthā Commentary*, p. 131.

<sup>6</sup> VIII, 1. 15.

<sup>7</sup> H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd Ed., p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> *Sumangala-vilāsinī*, II, pp. 516-517.

<sup>9</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, 87.

The work of fortification of Pāṭaligāma which was witnessed by the Buddha when he passed through this village led eventually to the building of the city of Pāṭaliputra.

As evidenced by the Pali Canon,<sup>1</sup> after the demise of the Buddha, there existed an enmity between the king of Magadha on the one hand, and the Vrijis of Vesāli on the other, the former ultimately gaining victory over the latter. We may take it for certain that the capital of Magadha was transferred to Pāṭaliputra by Udāyibhadra, the son and successor of Ajātaśatru.

Thus it may be established that Ajātaśatru was the real builder of Pāṭaliputra, which was in fact the new Rājagṛīha or new capital of Magadha, as distinguished from the old Rājagṛīha or Girivraja with its outer area.

This tradition became somehow twisted and led the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang to speak of the 'old city' and the 'new city' of Rājagṛīha, both with reference to Girivraja, crediting Ajātaśatru with the building of the 'new city'. Fa-Hien says that a yojana to the west from Nāla, the place of birth and death of Sāriputra, brought him to 'New Rājagṛīha, the new city which was built by king Ajātaśatru'. There were then two monasteries in it. It was enclosed by a wall with (four gates). Three hundred paces outside the west gate was the stūpa erected by Ajātaśatru over a portion of the relics of Buddha received by him. Some four li (less than a mile) south from the south gate was the 'old city of king Bimbisāra', 'a circular space formed by five hills'.<sup>2</sup>

According to Hwen Thsang, the Kalanda Tank was above 200 paces to the north of Venuvana, 2 or 3 li to the north-west of this tank was an Aśoka tope, and not far to the north-east from this was 'Rājagṛīha city the outer wall of which was utterly destroyed; the foundations of the inner wall stood out prominently and were above 20 li (4 miles) in circuit with one gate'. He tells us that 'king Bimbisāra had his capital at Kuśāgrapura which was constantly afflicted by disastrous fires.... When a fire broke out in the palace he made his heir king, and went to live in the cemetery. Hearing this the king of Vaiśālī proceeded to invade Magadha, whereupon this city was built, and the inhabitants of Kuśāgrapura all removed to it.... But there was another story which ascribed the building of this city to Ajātaśatru whose successor made it his capital.<sup>3</sup> It is not a fact that 'Aśoka removed the seat of government to Pāṭaliputra'.<sup>4</sup>

D. N. Sen has felt the difficulty in accepting the truth in the Chinese pilgrim's story of New Rājagṛīha without being able to trace its source.<sup>5</sup> The New Rājagṛīha or new capital of Magadha was no other than Pāṭaliputra which was built by Ajātaśatru with a view to repel the attacks of the Vrijis of Vaiśālī and made capital by Ajātaśatru's successor Udāyi or *Udāyibhadra*. There may be some truth in the suggestion made by Hwen Thsang that the cause of removal of the capital was a fire which broke out in the old capital. Sen has rightly

<sup>1</sup> *Samyutta Nikāya*, II, 268.

<sup>2</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>3</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 161-162.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 18: "There is no satisfactory evidence to show that Ajātaśatru built a new capital on the plateau covered by the *Sitavana*, excepting the Chinese tradition on the subject."

drawn our attention to a statement in the *Majjhima-nikāya* that Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha, caused the 'fortifications of the old capital to be repaired as a preparation against a threatened invasion by the king (*Chanda Pajjota*) of Ujjain'.<sup>1</sup> But Ajātasattu might have undertaken to repair the old capital on his accession to the throne as was usual with the kings of ancient India.<sup>2</sup>

Buddhaghosa speaks of the inner city (*antonagara*) and outer city (*bahinagara*) of Rājagaha.<sup>3</sup> According to the *Rājovāda-Jātaka*, the outer city consists of the localities at the four gates (*chatu-dvāra-gāma*).<sup>4</sup> Though Buddhaghosa tells us that the city of Rājagaha was fitted with 32 main gates and 64 lesser gates (posterns), the principal gates were really four. According to the *Sutta-nipāta-Commentary*, for instance, the Bodhisattva on his first visit to Rājagaha, entered it by the east gate.<sup>5</sup> Buddhaghosa informs us that when king Ajātasattu wanted to wait upon the Buddha in Jivaka's Mango-grove, he was escorted to the place by the eastern gate of the city (*pāchīna-dvārena*).<sup>6</sup> Hwen Thsang distinctly mentions the north gate and a narrow outlet on the west through the high hills.<sup>7</sup> The locality at the east gate was apparently a long narrow strip of land between two ranges of hills and it probably extended as far north-east as the Gridhra-dvāra cave. The locality at the south gate was known as Dakkhinagiri. The same locality must have extended as far south-west as the west gate. The locality at the north gate is precisely that which is described by Chinese pilgrims as the 'new city' or 'New Rājagriha'. The new Rājagriha was nothing but a palace-area in the outer city. This area was, according to Fa-Hien, enclosed by a wall with four gates, the west and south gates being distinctly referred to.<sup>8</sup> As noticed by Hwen Thsang, this palace-area was enclosed by two walls, the inner wall being 20 li (3½ miles) in circuit with one gate.<sup>9</sup> The distance between the south-gate of new Rājagriha (Plate IIa) and the north gate of Girivraja was, according to Fa-Hien, four li (less than a mile). Fa-Hien places the stūpa built by Ajātasatru just 300 paces outside the west gate of new Rājagriha.<sup>10</sup> Hwen Thsang places this stūpa to the east and the Kalanda tank above 200 paces to the north of Venuvana. He noticed an Aśoka tope with a stone pillar bearing an elephant two or three li (about half a mile) to the north-west of the Kalanda tank, while the new Rājagriha lay not far to the north-east from the Aśoka tope.<sup>11</sup> One may rightly assume that this palace-area, the Venuvana, the Kalanda tank, the Tapodārāma, and the rest lay all to the east

<sup>1</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, III, p. 7: *Tena kho pana samayena rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Rājagaham paṭisan-khārapeti rañña Pajjotassa āsankamāno.*

<sup>2</sup> Hāthigumpha Inscription in which one reads that in the very first year of his reign king Khāravela caused the city of Kalinga to be thoroughly repaired.

<sup>3</sup> *Sāratthappakāśini*, I, p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> Fausboll's *Jātaka*, II, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Sutta-nipāta-Commentary*, pp. 382-383.

<sup>6</sup> *Sumaṅgala-vilāśini*, I, p. 150.

<sup>7</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 81.

<sup>11</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 158-159, 161-162.

of the Sītavana or Cemetery-grove which formed the western end of the locality at the north gate of Girivraja. But it is probable that this locality extended north-east along the northern range of Rajgir hills over a pretty long distance. We might say that *Lathivana* (*Yashtivana*) or Palm-grove or Bamboo-wood of *Bimbisāra* was on the outskirt of the bahinagara towards the south-west and the Royal pleasance at *Ambalatthikā* lay on the outskirt of the same towards the north-east.

The road from the east gate of Rājagaha led to a village called *Andhakavinda*. In the vicinity of *Gijjhakūta* was the *Sumāgadha* tank on the bank of which was a free feeding ground of the peacocks. The landed property of *Udumbarikā devī* lay near this tank, while the river *Sappinī* (modern *Pañchānā*) flowed not far from it. There was a famous Brahmin village by the name of *Ekanālā* in *Dakkhiṇagiri*, a locality at the south gate of Rājagaha.

Beyond the *bahinagara* lay the Magadha *janapada* which extended as far north-east as Pāṭaligāma and the Ganges and as far south-west as Gorathagiri or Barabar hills. The *rājāgāra* at Ambalatthikā, Pāvārika's Mango-grove at Nālandā and Pāṭaligāma were halting places on the high road which connected Rājagaha with Vesālī, Kapilavatthu, Sāvatthī, Kosambi, Ujjeni and Patitthāna.<sup>1</sup> The Maṇimālaka-chetiya, the Bahuputta chetiya, the Kapota-kandara, the Ambalatthikā at Khānumata, Machalagāma, and the Pāśāṇaka-chetiya were some of the notable sites in the Magadha *janapada*. According to the Vinaya Piṭaka, the kingdom of Magadha contained 80,000 villages, all under the sway of king Bimbisāra.<sup>2</sup> The city of Rājagaha was surrounded by fertile rice-fields that are 'described to have been divided into short pieces and in rows, and by outside boundaries and by cross boundaries'.<sup>3</sup>

The inner city was the palace-area within the girdle of five hills. This was, according to Fa-Hien, the 'old city of king Bimbisāra, from east to west about five or six li (nearly a mile), and from north to south seven or eight (more than a mile)'.<sup>4</sup> This was, according to Hwen Thsang, Kuśāgrapura, 'the city of the superior reed-grass, the centre of Magadha, and its old capital', with a narrow outlet on the west and a passage on the north 'through the mountain', 'above 150 li (25 miles) in circuit'.<sup>5</sup> We read in the Rāmāyana that 'Vasu the fourth son of Brahmā built Girivraja, the ancient capital of Magadha'.<sup>6</sup> The *Brahmapurāṇa* tells us that Prithu 'gave Magadha to Magadha being highly pleased with his song in praise of the samrāt'.<sup>7</sup> The Mahābhārata mentions Jarāsandha, son of king Brihadratha, as a very great and powerful king of Magadha who reigned in the city of Girivraja or Rājagrīha 'well guarded by mountains on all sides'.<sup>8</sup> The Padmapurāṇa says that Jarāsandha,

<sup>1</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, p. 194; *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Vinaya Texts* (S. B. E.), II, pp. 207-208.

<sup>4</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> *Ādikāṇḍa*, Canto 32, v. 7; Law's *Ancient Indian Tribes*, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, Ch. 62, sl. 147; Cf. *Brahma*, Ch. IV, sl. 67.

<sup>8</sup> *Sabhāpara*, Ch. 21.

the great king of Magadha, besieged Mathurā with his large army of twenty-three *akshauhiṇīs*.<sup>1</sup> The *Vishṇupurāṇa* adds that Jarāsandha gave his two daughters in marriage to *Kaṁsa*, the king of Mathurā, and that when *Kaṁsa* was killed by Krishna, Jarāsandha marched with his army to Mathurā to destroy Krishna with all the Yādavas and attacked Mathurā only to be repulsed with a heavy loss.<sup>2</sup> In agreement with the account in the *Mahābhārata* the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* narrates that Bhīma, Arjuna and Krishna went to Girivraja where Bhīma killed Jarāsandha and Krishna made Sahadeva, son of Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha and released all the kings imprisoned by Jarāsandha.<sup>3</sup> According to the *Sāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, Jarāsandha hearing of the valour of Karna, fought with him but was defeated, and being pleased with his great skill in arms, made him the king of the city of Mālinī.<sup>4</sup> In the *Ādiparva* Jarāsandha is represented as a reincarnation of Viprachitti, a chief of the demons.<sup>5</sup> The *Sabhāparva* relates that Bhīma proceeded again to Girivraja where he forced Sahadeva to pay taxes to him, and that at the Rājasūya sacrifice, Sahadeva was present as one of the vassals of the *Pāṇḍavas*.<sup>6</sup> The *Udyogaparva* shows that at the Kurukshetra battle Dhrishṭaketu helped the Pāṇḍavas with the fourfold army.<sup>7</sup> And in the *Aśvamedhaparva* we are told that Meghasandhi, son of Sahadeva, offered battle to Arjuna who defeated him.<sup>8</sup>

Pargiter has sought to show on the evidence of the *Purāṇas* that the dynasties of Magadha and the adjoining countries descended from Kuru's son Sudhanvan. Vasu the fourth in succession from Sudhanvan conquered Chedi from the Yādavas, and also annexed the adjoining countries as far as Magadha. When he offered to divide his five territories among his five sons, his eldest son Brihadratha took Magadha with Girivraja as its capital and founded the famous Bārhadratha dynasty there.<sup>9</sup> According to the Pauranic lists of kings, the successors of Jarāsandha, son of Brihadratha, reigned in Magadha for a thousand years, Ripuñjaya being the last king of this dynasty.<sup>10</sup> Ripuñjaya was killed by his minister Pulika (? Sunika, Muṇika, Suṇaka) who anointed his son Pradyota by force. Five kings of the Pradyota family ruled over Magadha for 138 years,<sup>11</sup> after which the *Śiśunāgas* came into power. Śiśunāga made Girivraja 'his own abode'. King Bimbisāra who was the fifth in descent from Śiśunāga reigned for 28 or 38 years. Ajātaśatru who succeeded Bimbisāra was the king for 25 years. Ajātaśatru was followed by Darśaka who was the king for 25 or 27

<sup>1</sup> *Brahma-Purāṇa*, Ch. 195, sl. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Vishnu-Purāṇa*, Amīsa 5, Ch. 22. The *Khila-Harivamśa* (*Vishnuparva*, Ch. 35, sls. 92 foll.) informs us that Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, killed the horses yoked to the chariot of *Balarāma* but was ultimately defeated by the *Vṛiṣhṇis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Skandha 10, Ch. 72, sls. 16, 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Sāntiparva*, Ch. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ādiparva*, Ch. 67, v. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Sabhāparva*, Ch. 30, v. 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Udyogaparva*, Ch. 57, v. 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Aśvamedhaparva*, Ch. 82.

<sup>9</sup> *Ancient Historical Tradition*, pp. 118, 282.

<sup>10</sup> *Pargiter's Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

years. After Darśaka, Udāyin became king and made Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra) his capital, Kusumapura being situated on the south bank of the Ganges.<sup>1</sup>

The early records of Buddhism open the political history of Rājagaha and Magadha with the reign of king Seṇiya Bimbisāra. The *Mahāvamsa* assigns to Bimbisāra a reign of 52 years, and to Ajātaśatru a reign of 32 years.<sup>2</sup> According to the same authority, Ajātaśatru was succeeded by his son Udayabhadda who reigned for 16 years.<sup>3</sup> We are definitely told in the *Mahāvamsa* that the Buddha was senior in age to Bimbisāra by five years. In the 16th year of his reign the Buddha entered upon his career as a teacher of the *dhamma*, and in the 8th year of the reign of Ajātaśatru he attained *mahāparinibbāna*.<sup>4</sup> That Udayabhadda or Udāyibhadda was the son and successor of Ajātaśatru is clearly borne out by the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*.<sup>5</sup>

During the reign of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru the city of Rājagaha was at the height of its prosperity. Aṅga formed an integral part of the kingdom of Magadha. The kingdom of Magadha comprised an area covered by the districts of Gayā and Bhāgalpur. Rājagaha ranked then with Champā, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Benares as a city inhabited by many a rich and influential Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa and Gahapati or Banker.<sup>6</sup> The Jain texts describe Rājagaha as a city which was rich, happy and thriving.<sup>7</sup> It must have lost its glory with the removal of the capital to Pāṭaliputra or Kusumapura by Udāyibhadda, some 28 years after the Buddha's demise. The latter continued to be the capital up to the Maurya reign and after. But the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela lifts up the veil for a moment, and shows that when Brihaspatimitra was the king of Magadha and king Khāravela of Kaliṅga marched towards Magadha after having stormed Gorathagiri, the latter brought a pressure to bear upon Rājagaha (*Rājagahaṁ upapiḍāpayati*).<sup>8</sup> Rājagaha must have been used by the then king of Magadha if not as a capital at least as a strong fortress against foreign inroads. The same Hathigumpha inscription refers to Aṅga and Magadha as countries united into one kingdom.

The *Mahābhārata* describes Girivraja or Rājagrīha, the capital of Jarāsandha, as a city which had a teeming population and was noted for the hot springs (*topodas*). According to this Epic, the city lay concealed in fragrant Lodhra forests and abounded with the *Pippala* and *Nyagrodha* trees. *Jinaprabha-sūri* tells us that it contained 36,000 houses of merchants, the half of which belonged to the Buddhists, and the other half belonged to the Jainas shown forth in

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, II, vv. 29, 31, 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, vv. 29, 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, p. 146; *Ettha bahū khattiya-mahāsūlā brāhmaṇa-mahāsūlā gahapati-maṇasūlā*.

<sup>7</sup> *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. II, p. 419.

<sup>8</sup> Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves*, p. 17.

the middle as a row of magnificent buildings.<sup>1</sup> Buddhaghosa, too, mentions Rājagaha as a city, the inner and outer areas of which contained each nine crores of people. The Pali scholiast says that the city was surrounded by a wall (*pākāra*) and an under-world (*petaloka*). He associates the hot springs only with the Vebhāra mountains, though they are to be found also in the Vipulagiri and in a place called Tapoban. According to the Great Epic the men of all the four castes lived in the city. The Pali texts themselves introduce us to a good many Brahmins, Nobles and Traders.

We are not, however, to think that Rājagrīha remained populous and prosperous throughout its history. Both Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla tell us that this city suffered strange reverse of fortune. It was a city in the time of the Buddha or in the time of a king overlord, while at other times it became empty (deserted) and seized by the Yakkhas and stood as their forest abode.<sup>2</sup> When Fa-Hien visited the place in the 5th century A. D. he found the sites still there as of old, but inside the city all was 'emptiness and desolation', no man dwelt in it.<sup>3</sup> Plague (*ahtvāta-roga*) was a recurring pestilence of the place.<sup>4</sup> The Karanda Venuvana monastery was 'still in existence', tenanted by a 'company of monks'.<sup>5</sup> And at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in the 7th century A. D. 'the only inhabitants of the city were 1,000 Brahmin families', and many Digāmbaras lodged on the *Pi-pu-lo* (*Vaibhāra*) mountain and practised austeries incessantly.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4 ANTIQUITY AND LOCATION OF THE FIVE HILLS

Traditionally Girivraja, the most ancient known capital of Magadha, was a well-fortified city in the midst of five hills.<sup>7</sup> These hills were as impregnable as now for an invader to attack or enter the city. They are not named alike in the Mahābhārata and the Pali works. Even in the Mahābhārata itself they are not named alike. In the Pali works the names are the same, but they vary in order. The first list in the Mahābhārata gives the names as: Vaihāra, Vārāha, Vṛishabha, Rishigiri, and Subhachaityaka. The second list introduces the five hills as: Pāṇḍara, Vipula, Vārāha, Chaityaka, and Mātaṅga. Evidently, then, Vārāha and Chaityaka are the two names that are common to the two lists. The Pali *Isigili-Sutta* mentions the five hills in a definite order as: Isigili, Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava, Vepulla, and Gijjhakūṭa; or as: Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava, Gijjhakūṭa, and Isigili, the two lists varying according as we begin with Isigili or with Vebhāra. The order of five names is changed in the Pali commentaries, one of

<sup>1</sup> *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*, p. 22: Sahaśrāh kil shadtrimśat yatrāsan banijām grihāḥ tatra chārdhāḥ Saugatāṇām madhye chārhatatasamjñinām Yasya prāśāda-pantinām śriyāḥ prekshyātiśayinīḥ.

<sup>2</sup> *Sumangala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 132: *Udāna-vannanā*, Siamese Ed., p. 76: *Tam pan etam Buddha-kale chakkavatti-kale cha nagaram hoti, sesakale suñnam yakkha-pariggahitam, tesam vasana-vanam hutvā tiffhati.*

<sup>3</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chouang*, II, pp. 154, 162.

<sup>7</sup> *Vimānavatthu-Commentary*, p. 82: *pañchannam pabbatānam antare vemajje.*

them enumerating them as : Pañdava, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Isigili, and Vepulla,<sup>1</sup> and the other as : Isigili, Vepulla, Vebhāra, Pañdava, and Gijjhakūṭa.<sup>2</sup>

Stated in terms of the Jaina or modern names of the Rajgir hills, the north gate of Girivraja lies between the Vaibhāragiri and the Vipulagiri; the south gate between the Sonagiri and the Udayagiri; the east gate either between the Sonagiri and the Ratnagiri, or between the Udayagiri, on one side, and the Chhathāgiri and Sailagiri, on the other; and the west gate between the Vaibhāragiri and the Sonagiri. The Vaibhāragiri lies to the west and the Vipulagiri to the east of the north gate. The Sonagiri lies to the west and the Udayagiri to the east of the south gate. The Ratnagiri, Chhathāgiri and Sailagiri lie to the north and the Sonagiri and Udayagiri to the south of the east gate. Similarly the Vaibhāragiri lies to the north and the Sonagiri to the south of the west gate.<sup>3</sup> If the palace area, as found enclosed by a triangular or quadrangular wall, be supposed to have been the whole of the *Girivraja*, as known in the Buddha's time and before, it must appear as a city with three gates and guarded not by five but by four hills only, namely, the Vaibhāra, the Vipula, the Ratna, and the Sona. If, on the other hand, the Chhathāgiri<sup>4</sup> or Sailagiri<sup>5</sup> be identified with Gijjhakūṭa and the Udayagiri be precluded from the list of five hills, the south gate of Girivraja remains altogether unexplained, and the inclusion of Gijjhakūṭa in the list becomes unnecessary. Cunningham identifies the Pali Vebhāra mountain with the modern Vaibhāragiri, and D. N. Sen argues in favour of identification of the Pali *Vepulla* with the Vipulagiri and the Pali Pañdava with the Ratnagiri. They say nothing definitely about the Isigili. If the Isigili be no other than the Sonagiri, we fail to understand why the Udayagiri should be left out of all consideration. One must, therefore, patiently consider the location of the five hills as suggested in Buddhist literature, the Pali canonical texts in particular.

Buddhaghosa rightly points out that in the Isigili Sutta the five hills are mentioned in the very order in which they stood to each other : Vebhāra, Pañdava, Vepulla, Gijjhakūṭa, and Isigili.<sup>6</sup> In one of the *Psalms of the Early Brethren*, too, the Vebhāra and the Pañdava are mentioned as though they stood side by side.<sup>7</sup> In both the *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* and the *Vinaya Chullavagga*, the Sattapanñi or Sattapanna cave is placed on a slope of the Vebhāra mountain (*Vebhārapasse*), the Vaihāra which is described in the *Mahābhārata* as a 'massive rock' (*Vipula Saila*). The Pali Canonical texts and commentaries are silent as to the side of the hill on which the cave was actually situated. The *Mahāvastu* definitely locates the cave on the north side of the Vaihāra hill and on that spot where the flat rocky floor was beautifully covered with trees.

<sup>1</sup> *Sutta nipāta Commentary*, II, p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Vimānavatthu-Commentary*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> See map published by Sir John Marshall in *A. S. I., Report for 1905-6*, Pl. XXIX.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Marshall inclines to identify *Gridhrakūṭa* with *Chhathāgiri*.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham proposed to identify *Gridhrakūṭa* with *Sailagiri*.

<sup>6</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, III, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> *Theragāthā*, V. 41.

Fa-Hien does not name the hill but certainly means the Vaibhāragiri<sup>1</sup> on the north of which he found 'the cavern called Srataparṇa.' Hwen Thsang locates the cave in the same way on the north side of what he calls *Pi-pu-lo* mountain, by which he, no doubt, meant the Vaibhāragiri.<sup>2</sup> Both Buddhaghosa and Hwen Thsang identify the main hot springs of Rajgir with this very hill. Thus it may be almost decisively established that the Pali *Vebhāra* mountain is no other than the Vaibhāragiri in the valley of which was the city of Rājagriha or Kuśāgrapura.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Isigili-Sutta, the Pāñdava was the hill which stood next to the Vebhāra, and the Vepulla stood next to the Pāñdava. That is to say, the Pāñdava occupied the same position in relation to the Vebhāra as the Jaina Vipulagiri or Vipula parvata. No doubt there is a verbal correspondence between the two names, Vepulla and Vipula. As a matter of fact, both the spellings of the name are met with in Pali. In one of the *gāthās* in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, the Vipulagiri is praised as the best of the Rajgir hills (*Vipulo Rājagahīyānam giri settho pavuchchati*).<sup>4</sup> In another *gāthā*, the Vepulla is said to have been called a massive hill (*akkhāto Vepullo pabbato mahā*).<sup>5</sup> But even these do not decide the issue. For, in the first place, the Mahābhārata applies *vipula śaila* as an epithet to the Vaihāra mountain: secondly, the Lalitavistara speaks of the Pāñdava as the best of the Rajgir hills (*parvatarāja*);<sup>6</sup> and thirdly, Hwen Thsang applied the name *Pi-pu-lo* (*Vipula*) mountain evidently to no other hill than the Vaibhāragiri. In seeking to identify the Pāñdava with Ratnagiri, D. N. Sen relies upon a statement in the *Sutta-nipāta-Commentary* to the effect that the Pāñdava hill could be reached by the Bodhisattva by coming out of the city of Rājagaha by the east gate. But we saw that this is not warranted by the text itself which, like the Jātaka Nidāna-kathā, remains silent about the gate by which the Bodhisattva entered and came out of the city.

The *Samyutta-nikāya* locates the Vepulla mountain to the north of the Gijjhakūṭa and places it in the midst of the girdle of hills. If the Vepulla be identified with the Vipulagiri and the Gijjhakūṭa either with the Chhaṭhāgiri or Sailagiri, it may be shown that it lies to the north of the latter, but it cannot certainly be shown that the Vipulagiri has its place in the midst of the girdle of hills (*giri-parikkhepe*). The Vepulla and the Gijjhakūṭa must have been the hills that enclosed between them the whole of the east gate of Rājagaha which extended over a distance of five or six miles, i.e., up to the modern Gridhradvāra cave.

Let us briefly consider the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims. First, when Fa-Hien visited Rājagriha, Girivraja was empty and desolate and no man dwelt in it. He took for his guides two bhikshus who were long residents of the place. He had to keep along the mountains on the south-east and proceed fifteen li

<sup>1</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chuang*, II, pp. 153-154.

<sup>3</sup> *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> *Lalita-vistara*, Lefmann's Ed., p. 239.

( $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles) before he could reach the foot of Gridhrakūṭa, which he knew to be the highest of all the five hills. Below the summit and apparently on the north side was a cavern or rocky apartment facing the south, in which Buddha sat in meditation. Near by to the north-west from this, was another cavern, where Ānanda sat in meditation and Māra Pisuna came to frighten him in the disguise of a vulture. There were 'caverns also of the Arhats', several hundred in all. In front of the Buddha's rocky apartment was the place where the Master used to walk from east to west. One could see the very rock which Devadatta hurled at the Buddha "from among the beetling cliffs on the north of the mountain."<sup>1</sup>

Hwen Thsang had to walk 14 or 15 li ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles) north-east from Girivraja to reach the Gridhrakūṭa or 'Vulture Peak mountain' which was 'continuous with the south side of the north mountain'. The north mountain was apparently the mountain which lay to the north of Gridhrakūṭa. Mt. Gridhrakūṭa 'rose to a great height, blending with the empyrean'. Its summit was a perch for vultures, and was 'like a terrace'. There was a road from the foot to the top made by king Bimbisāra. The top was 'elongated from east to west, and narrow from north to south'. Close to a cliff on the west side was a magnificent brick hall, opening to the east. To the east of this hall was a large stone, an exercise place of the Buddha, and at its side a rock, about 14 feet high and above 30 paces in circumference, where Devadatta hurled a rock at the Buddha. To the south of the temple, and at the side of the cliff, was a large cave in which the Buddha once sat in *samādhi*. North-west from this was another cave, with a large flat stone, in front of which Māra in the guise of a vulture threatened Ānanda. Near the temple were caves in which Sāriputra and other Arhats went into *samādhi*.<sup>2</sup>

None of these two accounts shows that the Chinese pilgrims meant to connect the Gridhrakūṭa with the northern range of Rajgir hills. Fa-Hien found it along the mountains on the south-east, and Hwen Thsang found it continuous with the south side of the mountain to the north of it. One cannot possibly say that even at a distance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles the Gridhrakūṭa was continuous with the Jaina Vipulagiri. The presence of caves need not worry us in identifying the Gijjhakūṭa of the Pali texts. For there is hardly any Pali reference to caves on this mountain. But there are a few other facts that need our consideration.

The Pali texts suggest proximity of the Gijjhakūṭa to a Paṭibhāna-kūṭa or 'Echoing peak'. According to Buddhaghosa, the latter was a boundary rock (*mariyādapāsāna*). The peak at the eastern end of the Sonagiri may be veritably regarded as the Paṭibhāna-kūṭa of Pali literature. Secondly, the Vinaya Chullavagga suggests the existence of a western shade of the Gijjhakūṭa which lay between the two peaks that stood very close to each other. The south-western corner of the Udayagiri and the south-eastern corner of the Sonagiri answer well to this description. Thirdly, the Udumbarika-Sutta suggests the existence of a famous tank called *Sunāgadha*, with a peacock's free feeding ground

<sup>1</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>2</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 151-152.

on its banks, in proximity to the Gijjhakūṭa. The landed estate of Udumbarikā devī lay not far from it. Fourthly, the Samyutta-nikāya suggests proximity of the Gijjhakūṭa to the river Sappinī which is, perhaps, no other than the modern *Panchāna*. Sixthly, the Deer Park at Maddakuchchhi or Adrikukshi is another ancient site which is located in the immediate neighbourhood of the Gijjhakūṭa<sup>1</sup> mountain. Seventhly the *Sāmaññaphala-Sutta* records a nocturnal visit of king Ajātasattu to Jīvaka's Mango-grove without any reference to the Gijjhakūṭa.<sup>2</sup> But Buddhaghosa locates the Mango-grove between the Gijjhakūṭa and the city-wall.<sup>3</sup> Fa-Hien found it at the north-east corner of the (old) city in a (large) curving space, without any reference to the Gridhrakūṭa.<sup>4</sup> Hwen Thsang, too, makes no reference to the Gridhrakūṭa when he locates the mango-grove in a bend of the mountain wall, 'north-east from Śrīgupta's Fire-pit'.<sup>5</sup>

Lastly, the *Majjhima-nikāya* refers to the Kālasilā or 'Black Rock' on a slope or side of the *Isigili* which stood so near the Gijjhakūṭa that it was possible for the Buddha to watch from the latter the action of certain persons on the former.

All these particulars cannot be properly explained if the Gijjhakūṭa is not identified with the Udayagiri and connected with the southern range of the Rajgir hills.

As for the antiquity of the five hills, it is stated in the *Isigili-Sutta* that all the hills except the Isigili had different names in different ages.<sup>6</sup> The Samyutta-nikāya mentions, for instance, the case of the Vepulla mountain. This mountain was known in a very remote age by the name of Pāchinavamīsa, and the people of the locality were known as Tivaras. In the next stage the mountain received the name of Vaṇkaka, and the people of the locality were called Rohitassas. In the third stage the name of the mountain changed into Supassa and the name of the people of the locality became Suppiyas. And in the fourth or last stage the mountain became known as Vepulla, and the people of the locality were known as Māgadhakas.<sup>6</sup>

Both the *Samyutta-nikāya* and its commentary pre-suppose a long period in accounting for the geological evolution of the Rajgir hills. With reference to the Vepulla, for instance, we are told in the text that if a person is born and reborn during an aeon, leaving his bones to be heaped up in one place, the accumulation may be equal to the size of the Vepulla mountain.<sup>7</sup> Buddhaghosa

<sup>1</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Sumanagala-vilāsini*, I, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Legge's *Fa-Hien*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, III, pp. 68 foll.

<sup>6</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, II, pp. 190-192.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185:

*Ekassakena kappena puggalassatthisañchayo siyā pabbatasamo rāsi, iti vuttamā mahesina.  
So kho pañiyam akkhāto Vepullo pabbato mahā.*  
Cf. *ibid.*, II, pp. 190-192.

adds that the period covered by the evolution of invertebrates is much longer than that of evolution of the vertebrates. The history of the Vepulla mountain is to be traced from an intermediate period when the vertebrates proper had not appeared on this earth.<sup>1</sup>

### 5 RĀJAGRIHA IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

The primitive religion of Rājagrīha was no other than that which prevailed all over the kingdom of Magadha. It consisted chiefly in the worship of Nāgas, Yakshas and other minor deities.<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa speaks of the existence of a beautiful and spacious Nāga-world under the *Vebhāra* mountain.<sup>3</sup> The Mahābhārata refers to the temples of two Pannagas or Nāgas, namely, Maṇināga and Svastika, in Girivraja.<sup>4</sup> The Maniyār Māṭh, now exposed to view by the Archaeological Department,<sup>5</sup> is really the temple of *Maṇināga* mentioned in the Great Epic.

As regards the *Yakshas*, we have, in the first place, mention of a *Yaksha* named Sivaka (*Sivaka*), who guarded the Sītavana or Cemetery-grove. The demi-god is described as a being who possessed supernatural powers and could produce supernatural phenomena at his sweet will.<sup>6</sup> Next we have mention of a *Yaksha* named Indaka (*Indraka*) whose dwelling was on a peak called Indakūṭa.<sup>7</sup> Sakka (*Sakra*, a Mārakāyika demi-god) figures as another *Yaksha* who dwelt on Mt. Gijjhakūṭa.<sup>8</sup> The *Yaksha* Maṇibhadda (*Maṇibhadra*) was worshipped at a shrine in Magadha, called Maṇimālaka-chetiya.<sup>9</sup> The *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* mentions Kumbhira (elsewhere, *Gambhīra*) as a *Yaksha*-chief of *Rājagaha* whose dwelling was on Mt. Vepulla.<sup>10</sup>

Among other minor deities of Rājagrīha who were of a benevolent kind, the *Devaputta-Samyutta* introduces us to Asama, Sahalī, Nirṅka, Ākoṭaka, Veṭambarī, Māṇava-gāmī and Dīghalatṭhi who were upholders of various higher religious doctrines that were promulgated in the royal city.<sup>11</sup> The early records of Buddhism clearly attest that the hills of Rājagrīha were, according to the popular belief then prevalent, visited from time to time by such higher deities and angels as Sakka (*Sakra*) and Sahampati Brahmā (*So'hampati Brahmā*). The *Sakka-pañha-Suttanta* contains a romantic account of a visit of Sakka with his harper Pañchasikha Gandhabbaputta to the Indasālaguhā at the Vediyaka mountain when the Buddha was sojourning there.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sāratthappakāśinī*, II, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> B. M. Barua's *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, Vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> *Sāratthappakāśinī*, I, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāpara*, Ch. 21, v. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Marshall's *Rājagrīha and its Remains* in A. S. I., Report for 1905-6, pp. 103 ff. The latest finds here include a bas-relief, containing several figures of Nāgas and Nāginis, with an inscription mentioning Maṇi-nāga, which corroborates this identification—Ed.

<sup>6</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 211.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 206.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 206.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 208.

<sup>10</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, p. 257: *Kumbhīro Rājagahiko Vepullassa nivesanam*.

<sup>11</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, pp. 65 foll.

<sup>12</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, pp. 263 foll.

The stucco-images found around the Maniyār-Math in the inner city of Rājagrīha consist of the following figures :—

- “ (1) Liṅga, covered with a garland of flowers, standing on circular base, moulded in the shape of a flower-pot.
- (2) Bāṇasura, standing, four arms, two upper hands cut off, two lower ones resting on shoulders of small male and female attendants. Crown on head; hair arranged in curls, garland over left shoulder. Conventional rock-work on base points to his residence in hills.
- (3) Nāga, Head covered by cobra with five hoods, left hand falls down holding undefined object like a śāṅkha or shell, uplifted right with rosary.
- (4) Nāga, cobra with many hoods over head, left hand, resting on hip, holds water-pot, right hand hangs down with palm opened (*varada-mudrā*).
- (5) Nāgī, cobra with three (or five ?) hoods over head, right hand uplifted, left hand hangs down.
- (6) Gaṇeśa, Seated on rocks, holds mango (?) in his right hand, both upper arms wear bracelets, strings of beads around neck and forehead, three headed cobra twisted around his body.
- (7) Nāga. Erect; head covered by cobra with three hoods; uplifted right hand holds rosary, left hand hangs down.
- (8) Nāga. Erect; head covered by cobra with one hood; gesture of uplifted right hand *vitarkamudrā*; left hand resting on hip.
- (9) Nāga. Erect; cobra with three hoods over head; left hand hanging down; right hand raised.
- (10) Siva. Dancing; six arms; wears cobra and tiger-skin; phallic emblem distinctly visible.”<sup>1</sup>
- (11) One stone-sculpture from Rājagrīha, presents on one side standing figures of eight Vāsukis, the head of each of whom bears a cobra hood, and on the other, two standing human figures, with a Brahmi inscription of a very ancient date.<sup>2</sup> (Plate IIb) Regarding the above figures (1 to 10) the following observations of Bloch are worth quoting:

“ It will be observed that among the divinities in the list, there is one at least, Bāṇasura, whose name occurs in connection with the Krishna legends. Krishna once had a fight with him, because he had refused the hand of his daughter to the divine hero, and it was in this fight that Bāṇasura lost two of his hands. Now, considering the intimate connection that exists between the Krishna legend and old Rājagrīha, it is perhaps not too hazardous to suggest that the building unearthed, situated almost right in the centre of the old city, was some kind of Pantheon of Rājagrīha, and that the various figures of nāgas and nāgīs represent certain serpent-deities, whom popular religion worshipped at distinct places on

<sup>1</sup> From the list published by T. Bloch in *A. S. I., Report for 1905-6*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> [This has since been reconstructed from fragments recovered in different years and the inscriptions reveal the names Maṇi-nāga and Bhagini Sumāgadhi.—Ed.]

the surrounding hills. The fact that some of the divinities have been represented as inhabiting hills, to which we have drawn special attention in the list above, fits well into this argument. Old ruined temples of Gaṇeśa and Siva (Mahādeva) still remain on Vaibhāra-giri, and it is merely owing to our imperfect knowledge of Hindu mythology, that we have been constrained to describe the six serpent-deities in the list merely as nāgas or nāgīs, without calling them by their proper names. One among them very likely is the nāga Maṇikāra, whose name still survives in the modern world Maniyār Math, by which the locality now goes.<sup>1</sup>

Rājagṛīha was popularly known to have been so much under the influence of such malevolent spirits as Nāgas and Yakshas that even the Buddhist Bhikshus had to be furnished with a Paritta or 'Saving chant' in the shape of the *Mahā-ātānātiya-Suttanta* for their protection against them.<sup>2</sup>

Indian literature is wanting in evidence as to the prevalence of fetishism in Rājagṛīha at any period of its history. The *Sutta-nipāta* and its commentary refer to an ancient place of worship (*devatthāna*) in *Magadha-khetta*, known as *Pāsāṇaka-chetiya* (Rocky shrine). It is possible that a holy stone on this rock was then the actual object of worship. The Guṇasila-chetiya mentioned in the Jaina Uvāsagadasāo was undoubtedly a primitive object of worship of this very description.

The *Tapodas* or hot springs and the *Tapodā* or Sarasvatī carrying water from those hot springs were popularly regarded as punyatirthas or places for holy ablutions. Thus those hot springs and hot streams served to make Rājagṛīha a place of pilgrimage to the Hindu folk in general, then as now. The Chinese pilgrim bears a glowing testimony to this in the following words :

"The fountain stream flowed in 500 branches past the Small Hot wells, and this made the water of the springs hot. All these springs had carved stones such as heads of lions or white elephants,<sup>3</sup> or they had stone aqueducts to lead the water into the tank made of stone slabs. People came from various lands to bathe in these tanks, and often went away healed of old maladies."<sup>4</sup>

The hot springs of Rājagṛīha survive till to-day. They are found, as Cunningham records, 'on both banks of the Sarsuti rivulet ; one half at the eastern foot of Mount Baibhār, and the other half at the western foot of Mount Vipula'.<sup>5</sup>

The *Pippalas* (*Aśvatthas*) and Nyagrodhas were the sacred trees at the place as in other parts of India. The Gotama-nigrodha was the most famous banyan tree of Rājagṛīha. The supaitṭha and the Bahuputtachetiyas were two other holy banyan trees on the outskirts of the city.

As for Brahmanism, we saw that the *Mahābhārata* invests Rājagṛīha with hoary antiquity and describes it as the place where lived such ancient Vedic sages and seers as Dirghatamas, Gautama, and Kākshīvān. The Great Epic faithfully depicts the hills of Rājagṛīha as places which were suitable retreats for many

<sup>1</sup> A. S. I., Report for 1905-1906, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīghanikāya*, III, pp. 194 foll; *Samyutta-nikāya*, II, pp. 259-262.

<sup>3</sup> Such were the shapes of the gargoyle then used.

<sup>4</sup> Watters *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Geography*, p. 534.

*siddhas* and *tāpasas*.<sup>1</sup> The Pali commentaries speak of *Rājagṛīha* as a residence of such holy personages of old as *Mahāgovinda* and *Mandhātā*.<sup>2</sup>

The Pali *Isigili-Sutta* represents Rishigiri ("the Hermits' Hills") as Isigili (Rishigili) or the hill which, according to popular impression, swallowed up the *isis* (*rishis*). The local people could see when those hermits entered the hills but never saw them coming out of it. So another impression was that those hermits dwelt in it for ever (*chira-nivāsino*). The hermits are honoured in the Sutta as *pachcheka-buddhas* or Buddhas who had attained *siddhi* for their own good only. Mt. Rishigiri or Rishigili was associated with a tradition of five hundred *rishis* who came to live in it for ever. The Pali Sutta mentions a good many of them by name : *Ariṭṭha*, *Upariṭṭha*, *Tagarasikhi*, *Yasassi*, *Sudassana*, *Piyadassi*, *Gandhāra* (a rishi whose birth-place was probably *Gandhāra*), *Piṇḍola*, *Upāsabha*, *Nītha*, *Tatha*, *Sutavā*, *Bhāvitatta*, *Sumbha*, *Subha*, *Methula*, *Attīhama*, *Sumegha*, *Anigha*, *Sudāṭha*, *Hingū*, *Hinga*, two *Jālis*, *Attīhaka*, *Kosala* (probably one from *Kosala*), *Subāhu*, *Upanemi*, *Nemi*, *Santachitto*, *Kāla*, *Upakāla*, *Vijita*, *Jita*, *Aṅga* (apparently one from *Aṅga*), *Paṅga*, *Gutijjita*, *Aparājita*, *Satthā*, *Pavattā*, *Sarabhaṅga*, *Lomahamīsa*, *Uchchaṅgamāya*, *Asita*, *Ānāsava*, *Manomaya*, *Bandhumā*, *Tadādhi-mutta*, *Ketumbarāga*, *Mātaṅga*, *Ariya*, *Achchuta*, *Achchutagāmabyāmaka*, *Sumanīgala*, *Dabbila*, *Supatīṭhita*, *Asayha*, *Khemābhīrata*, *Sorata*, *Durannaya*, *Saṅgha*, *Ujjaya*, *Sayha*, *Ānanda*, *Nanda*, *Upananda*, 12 *Bhāradvājas*, *Bodhi*, *Mahānāma*, *Uttara-Bhāradvāja*, *Kesi-Bhāradvāja*, *Sikhi-Bhāradvāja*, *Sundara-Bhāradvāja*, *Tissa*, *Upatissa*, *Upasīdari*, *Sidari*, *Mangala*, *Usabha*, *Upanita*, *Uposatha*, *Sundara*, *Sachcha*, *Jeta*, *Jayanta*, *Paduma*, *Uppala*, *Padumattara*, *Rakkhita*, *Pabbata*, *Mānatthaddha*, *Sobhita*, and *Kanha*.<sup>3</sup> One may readily agree with Dr. Barua in thinking that Mt. *Isigili* was hallowed by the death of these holy personages.<sup>4</sup>

Coming to the Buddha's time, we find that *Rājagṛīha* was surrounded by many Brahmin villages or settlements. *Ekanālā* was an important Brahmin village in Dakkhinagiri.<sup>5</sup> *Ambasaṇḍa* was another Brahmin village on the eastern side of *Rājagṛīha*, to the north of the *Vediyaka* mountain and the *Indasāla-guhā*.<sup>6</sup> On the landed estate of *Udumbarikā* devī, not far from the *Sumāgadha* tank, was a *Paribbājakārāma* or retreat of the Wandering ascetics,<sup>7</sup> with *Nigrodha* (*Nyagrodha*) as their leader. Not far from this, on the bank of the river *Sappinī* (*Pañchāna*) was another ārāma, where great Wandering teachers,<sup>8</sup> *Anna-bhāra* and *Varadhara* and *Sakuladāyī* lived. *Khānumata* was a prosperous Brahmin village in Magadha, which was made a gift to the Brahmin *Kūṭadanta* by king *Bimbisāra*. This was the place where the Brahmin lived with all the powers over life and property as if he were the king himself. Annually a great

<sup>1</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, Ch. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Sumangalavilāsini*, I, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, III, pp. 68-71.

<sup>4</sup> B. M. Barua's *Historical background of 'Jinalogy and Buddhalogy'* in the *Calcutta Review*, 1924, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> *Dīghanikāya*, II, p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> *Anguttara-nikāya*, II, pp. 29, 176.

sacrifice was made involving the slaughter of hundreds of bulls, calves, goats and rams.<sup>1</sup> The great sacrifice, performed every year by the three Jatila leaders of the Gaya region, was a highly important religious function awaited by the inhabitants of Aṅga-Magadha.<sup>2</sup>

The Brahmins who lived in Rājagṛīha and near about it were mostly Brahmins of the Bhāradvāja-gotta. Some of them were *agnihotris*, some up-holders of the cult of purity by birth, morals and penance. Some of them wore matted hair (*jaṭā*) and some of hot temper. They were generally opposed to the conversion of any one amongst them to the Buddhist and such other non-Brahmanical faiths.<sup>3</sup> Even at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit, when there was none else in the deserted city, there were one thousand Brahmin families.<sup>4</sup> Rājagṛīha was once visited by a Wanderer (*paribbājaka*), named Moliya-Sīvaka.<sup>5</sup> A female wandering ascetic (*paribbājikā*), called Suchimukhī (Needle-mouth) was well-known to the citizens of Rājagṛīha, apparently for the sting in her words.<sup>6</sup>

There lived in some of the villages in Magadha a class of heretics, called *Samsāra-mochakas* or 'Saviours of the souls from the states of woe,' who, as their name implies, were professionals enough to guarantee the release of departed spirits from the course of transmigration by their secret cults and occult powers.<sup>7</sup>

Somewhere in Magadha, between Rājagṛīha and Uruvelā (Buddha-Gayā), not far from the Mahānadī (Mohānā) lived two teachers, Arāda Kālāma and Udra Rāmaputra, who founded two schools for the training of pupils in the method of *yoga*.<sup>8</sup>

Rājagṛīha was the earliest known stronghold of heresy and heterodoxy of the age.<sup>9</sup> The early records of Buddhism bring before us six powerful teachers, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kachchāyana, Ajita Kesakambalī, Sañjaya Belatthiputta, and Niganṭha Nātaputta, who proved to be founders of schools (*titthakaras*) and great leaders of thought. The first of them is described as a propounder of the doctrine of chance, the second as a fatalist, the third as an eternalist, the fourth as an atheist, the fifth as a sceptic, and the sixth as an advocate of the fourfold restraint (*chātuyāma-saṁvara*).<sup>10</sup> Makkhali Gosāla was the leader of the Ājīvikas, and Niganṭha Nātaputta that of the Nirgranthas or Jainas. These teachers had each his great admirers and staunch supporters among the citizens of Rājagṛīha, the benevolent spirits of the place not excluded.<sup>11</sup> The beginnings of their career are bound up with the history of Rājagṛīha.

<sup>1</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, pp. 27-28; Barua's *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, Vol. I, pp. 109 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, pp. 160-167.

<sup>4</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 162.

<sup>5</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, IV, p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pp. 238-239.

<sup>7</sup> *Petavatthu-Commentary*, pp. 67-72.

<sup>8</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, pp. 163 foll.; Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, pp. 66 foll.; *Lalita-vistara*, pp. 243 foll.; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, p. 118, Vol. III, p. 322; *Buddhacharita*, Book VII, V. 54; Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> The Wanderer *Mahāsakuladāyi* informed the Buddha that Aṅga and Magadha were full of sophistic activities. *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, pp. 1-22.

<sup>10</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, pp. 52-55; *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, pp. 198 foll., Law's *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 21 foll.

<sup>11</sup> *Dīgha-nikāya*, I, pp. 47-49; *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, pp. 65-67.

One Sañjaya Parivrājaka resided at Rājagrīha with five hundred followers. Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana who became the chief disciples of the Buddha after their conversion to the new faith belonged formerly to the school of Sañjaya.<sup>1</sup> In the Mahāvastu Sañjaya is represented as Sañjaya Vairāṭiputra, i.e., Sañjaya the Sceptic.<sup>2</sup>

Rājagrīha and its neighbourhood have a considerable importance in the history of Jainism. For it was in Nālandā, a suburb of Rājagrīha, that Mahāvīra spent the second year of his asceticism. It was again in Rājagrīha and Nālandā that he found his early supporters in such rich householders as Vijaya, Ānanda, Sudarśana and Bahula. Gosāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas, saw and met him first in Rājagrīha. The settlement of Kollāga (*Konnāga*), and the village of Bālaka at some distance from Nālandā, were places that became scenes of his early action.<sup>3</sup> The Kalpa-Sūtra informs us that in Rājagrīha and Nālandā Mahāvīra spent as many as fourteen rainy seasons.<sup>4</sup> But Rājagrīha was also known as the birth-place of Muni Suvrata, one of the predecessors of Mahāvīra.<sup>5</sup> Eleven out of the twelve gaṇadharas or leading disciples of Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa* (i.e., died) in Rājagrīha.<sup>6</sup>

The Pali *Nikāyas* refer to Kālasilā or Black Rock on a slope or side of Isigili as the place where the Nirgranthas or Jaina recluses were seen practising the difficult penance of remaining in a standing posture (*ubbhattikā*), rejecting seats (*āsana-paṭikkhittā*).<sup>7</sup> This Kālasilā was, perhaps, no other than what is called the site of Guṇaśila-chaitya in the Jaina Uvāsaga-dasāo. When Hwen Thsang visited Rājagrīha in the 7th century A.D., he saw many Digambaras on the Pi-pu-lo (*Vaibhāra*) mountain, who lodged there and practised austerities incessantly turning round with the sun, watching it for the whole day.<sup>8</sup>

The earliest known Jaina inscription is the one on the pedestal of a Jina-image recording the name of Mt. Vipula and king Śrenika in a Brāhmī alphabet which may take us back to the Kushāṇa age.<sup>9</sup> The Jainas built small temples on almost all the hills of Rajgir, installing the images of the Tirthaṅkaras in them in comparatively modern times, and these still exist. They have located Pāpā-purī, (or Pāvāpurī, as it is called) the place of Mahāvīra's demise, near Rājagrīha, on the Bihar Sarif-Nawadah road.

Prince Abhaya figures in the Pali Nikāyas as a strong lay-supporter of the order of recluses founded by Mahāvīra.<sup>10</sup> According to Jaina tradition, among the sons of Śrenika (Bimbisāra), Abhaya, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandisena were lay

<sup>1</sup> *Vinaya Pitaka*, I, pp. 39-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, English Tr. by Hœrnle, Appendix, pp. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalpa-sūtra*, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Kalpa-sūtra*, List of the *Sthaviras*. See *Jaina Sūtras* (S. B. E.), Pt. I, p. 287.

<sup>7</sup> *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 92.

<sup>8</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Jayaswal has published this interesting short inscription in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XX, pt. II, p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, pp. 392 foll.

adherents of the Jaina faith.<sup>1</sup> It is quite natural that there existed some amount of rivalry between the Jainas and the Buddhists.

The Pali *Nikāyas* refer also to Pāvārika's Mango-grove at Nālandā as the place where Mahāvīra figured as a very popular and venerable personality. One Dīghatapassī, a Jaina recluse of the time, resided there. Upāli, a rich householder of the locality, played the role of a *sāvaka* or lay worshipper of the great Tīrthaṅkara.<sup>2</sup> Lepa was another rich householder of Nālandā to figure among the Jaina *sāvakas*.<sup>3</sup>

Rājagṛīha assumes altogether a new aspect in the history of Buddhism, and the account of this ancient city and its neighbourhood is nowhere else so full, bright and vivid as in the Buddhist records. Rājagṛīha was the first place visited by the Bodhisattva after his adoption of ascetic life at Anupriyā in the Malla territory. It was here that he begged his food for the first time from door to door and created a high impression on the mind of king Bimbisāra and the citizens by his charming personality.<sup>4</sup> It was somewhere in Magadha, between Rājagṛīha and Uruvelā that he met and placed himself under the training of Arāda Kālāma and Udra Rāmaputra in the method of *yoga*.<sup>5</sup> He eventually selected Uruvelā as the most fitting place for meditation and the attainment of Buddhahood. Shortly after the attainment of Buddhahood it was suggested to him that his was primarily the task of a reformer of the religions of Magadha that had become all corrupt.<sup>6</sup> His second notable triumph in the kingdom of Magadha was the conversion of the three great leaders of the Jaṭilas with their thousand followers. With all of them as new converts he proceeded towards Rājagṛīha and halted on the way at Latthivana or Yashṭivana, which was a beautiful palm-grove or stick-wood belonging to king Bimbisāra. He was received with ovations by all the citizens of Rājagṛīha and the inhabitants of Aṅga-Magadha, headed by king Bimbisāra.<sup>7</sup>

The conversion of the king to the new faith proved to be a great incentive to the people at large to welcome it. King Bimbisāra made a gift of his Bamboo grove, *Veluvana-Kalandaka-nivāpa* (Kalandaka Venuvana) to the Buddha among his disciples, the grove which was situated in the outer area of Rājagṛīha, neither very far nor very near and yet at the same time a calm retreat most favourably situated.<sup>8</sup>

The conversion of Sāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana to the new faith by the Venerable Aśvajit, and the consequent desertion of the school of Sañjaya the Wanderer must have created a sensation among the citizens of Rājagṛīha.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 22; Mrs. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, pp. 371 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *Jaina-Sūtras* (S. B. E.), Pt. II, pp. 419 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Sutta-nipāta*, pp. 72 foll.; Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, pp. 65 foll.

<sup>5</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, pp. 163 foll.; *Mahāvastu*, II, 118, III, 322; *Lalita-vistara*, VII, v. 54; Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, pp. 66 foll.

<sup>6</sup> *Majjhima-nikāya*, I, p. 168; *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 146.

<sup>8</sup> *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, p. 39; Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> *Vinaya Chullavagga*, p. 14.

Conversion followed upon conversion. Persons of many well-known families either became bhikshus or lay supporters of the new doctrine, the progress of which was phenomenal in spite of resentment and petty opposition here and there, among different sections of people of the locality. For want of accommodation in Venuvana, the bhikshus passed the nights in grottoes and caverns of the hills that surrounded the city. This induced the great Banker of Rājagṛīha to undertake, with the permission of the Buddha, to build in a day some sixty vihāras for them. Another notable conversion which took place thereafter was that of Mahākāsyapa<sup>1</sup> who belonged formerly to another religious sect. With the formation of the order of *bhikshuṇis* at Vaiśālī, many women of Rājagṛīha, headed by Kshemā<sup>2</sup> one of the gifted queens of Bimbisāra, joined it. The Brahmins who as a class were opposed to the idea of conversion to the Buddhist and other non-Brahmanical faiths, the nobles who had generally an open mind to discuss all matters of human interest and importance, the bankers and traders who were charitably disposed to support religious and educational institutions, and the masses who struggled for existence, were contributory factors to the growing drama of Buddhism, the artisans, courtiers, physicians, royal officers and courtezans not excluded.<sup>3</sup>

It was at Rājagṛīha that *Sudatta-Anāthapiṇḍika*, the great banker of Srāvasti met the Buddha and invited him with all his disciples to the capital of *Kosala*.<sup>4</sup> It was again at Rājagṛīha that the messenger from Kapilavastu came to invite the newly enlightened Master to revisit the place of his nativity. In short, though the *dharma* was publicly proclaimed at Benares, the influence of Buddhism really spread from Rājagṛīha.

Though Mt. Gridhrakūṭa was a favourite resort of the Buddha and the Pippali-guhā that of the Venerable Mahākāsyapa, there was hardly any place of importance in or about Rājagṛīha which was not hallowed by the presence of the Buddha. The Sītavana or Cemetery grove and the Sappasonḍika-pabbhāra or Snake-hood-like slope, the Tapodārāma or Hot-water retreat, the Tapoda-kandarā or Hot-water cavern, the Gomata-kandarā, the Kapota-kandarā, the Laṭṭhivana or Yashtivana, the Sattapāṇi or Sattapāṇṇa cave on a slope of the *Vaibhāra* hill, the hollows and caverns of the Vaibhāra and Pāṇḍava hills, the Deer park at Maddakuchchhī, the Black Rock on a slope or side of Mt. Isigili or Rishigiri, the Paṭibhānakūṭa or Echoing Peak, the Indrakūṭa associated with the tradition of Indra yaksha, Jīvaka's Mango-grove, the Brahmin village Ekanālā in Dakshinagiri, the Pāsānaka-chetiya or Rocky Shrine, the Indasāla cave in the Vedyaka hill near the Brahmin village Ambasanda or Mango-tracts, the Sumāgadha Tank with the Peacocks' feeding-ground, the retreat of the Wandering ascetics on the landed estate of Udumbarikā devi, the banks of the river Sappinī

<sup>1</sup> *Pindola-Bhāradvāja*, one of the Buddha's foremost disciples, was born at Rājagaha in a rich brahmin family. The theras *Chullapanthaka* and *Mahāpanthaka* were grandsons of *Dhanaseṭṭhi*, a banker of Rājagaha. The *Chitrakathī Kumārakassapa* was born at Rājagaha. (Vide B. C. Law's *Ancient Indian Tribes*, p. 137).

<sup>2</sup> See for the names of other *bhikkhuṇis* who were born in Rājagaha (Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, 133).

<sup>3</sup> Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, pp. 126 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Samyutta-nikāya*, I, pp. 210 foll.

(Pañchāna), the village of Andhakavinda, the royal garden at Ambalatthikā on the way to Nālandā, Pāvārika's Mango-grove at Nālandā, Nālakagāma in the eastern part of Magadha, the Ambalatthikā near the Brahmin village Khānumata, and the spot of Maṇimālaka-chetiya or the shrine of Maṇibhadra yaksha which served as places of sojourn either to the Buddha or to his disciples grew into historical sites for various Buddhist monasteries or retreats, large or small.

The shady slopes and caverns of the hills around Rājagrīha, all solitary nooks and corners were found fitting places for lonely meditation of the *bhikshus* and *bhikshuṇis*, the *theras* and *therīs*. It was in some of those lonely retreats that the *bhikshus* and *bhikshuṇis* chanted the formulated doctrine and discipline of the Buddha, even in the very life-time of the Master.<sup>1</sup> The sombre beauty of the hills and the retreats was thus praised by the Buddha. "Delightful, Ānanda, is Rājagaha, delightful is the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, etc."<sup>2</sup> The Vinaya account goes to show that it was gradually found convenient to fix up residences (*senāsana*) for the *bhikshus*, dividing them into different groups according to their affinity in religious outlook and interest, namely, the Suttantikas, the Vinayadharas, the Dhammakathikas, the Jhāyinas (contemplatives), and the Tirachchhānakathikas or Non-descripts.<sup>3</sup>

Rājagrīha was one of the three places selected by the Chabbaggyas (*Shadvargikas*) of Vinaya notoriety, for planting centres of their mischievous activities. Rājagrīha was again the place where *Devadatta* fell out with the Buddha, tried to do personal harm to him, fomented schism in the Saṅgha, and eventually created a division in it.<sup>4</sup> It was from Rājagrīha that the Buddha started his last journey to Kuśinārā, stopping on the way at Ambalatthikā, Nālandā, and Pāṭaligāma, and delivering fruitful discourses to all who came in contact with him.<sup>5</sup> It was also the place where king Ajātaśatru built a *stūpa* and ceremonially enshrined in it the portion of relics received by him from Kuśinārā.<sup>6</sup> But Rājagrīha is certainly famous in the history of Buddhism also as the place where five hundred distinguished *Theras* met under the leadership of the Venerable Mahākāśyapa to recite the doctrine and discipline of the Buddha and fix the Buddhist canon.<sup>7</sup> All later traditions, whether in Pali or Sanskrit, tell us that the First Council was convoked in front of the Saptaparnī or Saptaparna cave on a slope of the Vaibhāra or Vaihāra hill, and that under the auspices of king Ajātaśatru who constructed a suitable *maṇḍapa* for the purpose. These statements are not, however, borne out by the account of the First Council as contained in the *Vinaya Chullavagga*, Section XI. The *Vinaya* account distinctly says that the main reason for selecting Rājagrīha for the purpose was that it could afford spacious accommodation for the five hundred *Theras* who were to recite the doctrine and discipline during the Buddhist Lent.

<sup>1</sup> *Vinaya Chullavagga*, IV, 4, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Dīghanikāya*, II, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Vinaya Chullavagga*, IV, 4, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Vinaya Chullavagga*, VII.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīghanikāya*, II, pp. 72-89.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 166.

<sup>7</sup> *Vinaya Chullavagga*, XI.

What actually happened to the *Saṅgha* at Rājagṛīha as a consequence of the transfer of capital to Pāṭaliputra, we cannot precisely say. But the glimpses that we have, here and there, show that the process of history was one of decay. Hwen Thsang, of course, tells us that 'two or three li to the north-west of this (the *Kalandā Tank* to the north of the *Venuvana monastery*) was an Aśoka tope beside which was a stone pillar, above 50 feet high, surmounted by an elephant, and having an inscription recording the circumstances of the tope'.<sup>1</sup> The circumstances that led to the erection of the tope at Rājagṛīha by Aśoka are also narrated by the Pali scholiasts and chroniclers. The Mahāvaṁsa says that the Venerable Indagutta (*Indragupta*) went from all places around Rājagṛīha as a representative to take part in the grand celebration of a *Mahāthūpa* in Ceylon during the reign of king Dutthagāmaṇi (2nd century B.C.).<sup>2</sup> When Fa-Hien visited Rājagṛīha in the 5th century A.D., he found the *Karanda* Bamboo-garden, where the old *vihāra* was then in existence, with a company of monks, who kept the ground about it swept and watered.<sup>3</sup> But Hwen Thsang met none there at the time of his visit in the 7th century A.D. deserving of mention in his Travels. As some of the images recently discovered at Rājagṛīha indicate, there was some amount of new vigour in Buddhist activities at the place under the patronage of the Pāla kings, after which the history of Buddhism at Rājagṛīha became practically closed for ever.

## 6 ARCHITECTURE OF RAJAGRIHA : SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS

The material that may be gathered from Indian literature regarding the architecture of Rājagṛīha is very scanty. As for secular architecture, the main object of interest, whether in the inner or in the outer city of Rājagṛīha, was, of course, the palace. Both the lower and the upper storey of the palace are mentioned, from which it may be inferred that it was at least a two-storeyed building.<sup>4</sup> It was certainly enclosed by a wall with gates.

According to Buddhaghosa, the city of Rājagṛīha was provided with 32 main and 64 smaller gates.<sup>5</sup>

The *Vinaya Chullavagga* refers to a rich household of the Banker of Rājagṛīha. The *Sāratthappakāśinī* leads us to think that his residence was a seven-storied building (*sattabhūmaka-pāsāda*), fitted with gates, main and minor.<sup>6</sup>

The *Venuvana* which was formerly a royal garden and subsequently converted into a Buddhist monastery was a beautiful bamboo-grove, surrounded by bamboos, enclosed by a wall, which was provided with gate-houses (*gopuraṭṭalakayuttam*).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chüang*, II, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 227-228.

<sup>3</sup> Legge, *Fa-Hien*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Digha-nikāya*, I, p. 47: *rājā-Māgadho Ajātasattu upari-pāsāda-vara-gato nisinno hoti.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sumangalavilāsinī*, I, p. 150.

<sup>6</sup> *Sāratthappakāśinī*, I, p. 313: *mahādvārābhīmukho va ahosi, sattabhūmakadvāram sayam eva vivajām ahosi.*

<sup>7</sup> *Samanta-pāsādikā*, III, p. 575: *Tam kira veļūhi parikkhittam ahosi aṭṭharasa-hatthena cha pākarena gopuraṭṭalakayuttam.*

The *rājāgāra* or garden-house of Bimbisāra at Ambalatthikā, on the road from Rājagriha to Nālandā, is said to have been provided with shade and water, enclosed by a wall, fitted with strong doors, well-guarded like a box. It was here that a picturesque house was built for the delightful pastime of the king.<sup>1</sup>

At Nālandā the Jaina householder Lepa who was rich and prosperous 'had a bathing hall which was beautiful and contained many hundreds of pillars'.<sup>2</sup>

At Pāṭaligāma, in the heart of the township, was built a big hall by the local people, one part of which was set apart for keeping things and the other part for residence.<sup>3</sup>

Turning to religious architecture, there is no evidence to show that the additions were made to Venuvana when Bimbisara made a gift of it to the Buddha and his disciples.<sup>4</sup> As Hwen Thsang found it, the Kalandā Bamboo Park 'with the original lodging of stone and brick' opened to the east.<sup>5</sup> It was most favourably situated in the outer city, neither very far nor very near the populous part of the city, and at the same time easily accessible and pleasantly peaceful.

The sixty *vihāras* undertaken by the Banker of Rājagriha to build for the *bhikshus* with the permission of the Buddha could not have been anything but small huts or cottages. The *guhās*, *kandaras*, *vivaras* and *pabbhāras* were so many natural caves, caverns, hollows and projections in the rocks, generally not improved by human hand. The cave on the northern slope of the Vaibhāra mountain, to the west of the hot springs, is but a long serpentine grotto. The best example of rock-cut caves in Rājagriha is one afforded by the Son-bhāndār cave which was formerly two-storied. Another small cave has been brought to view, just beside the Son-bhāndār, and it is expected that a series of caves will be discovered on the southern side of the Vaibhāra mountain.

The Indasāla cave in the Vedyaka mountain which as a natural cavern in the rocks was narrow, dark, and uneven is said to have been much improved by human hand. "It was surrounded by a wall, fitted with doors and windows covered with *chunam* plaster, decorated with scrolls and floral designs, done up, on the whole, into a picturesque cave-dwelling when it was made over to the Blessed One."<sup>6</sup>

In converting his Mango-grove into a *vihāra* and making a gift of it to the Buddha, Jivaka got it enclosed by a copper-coloured wall, 18 cubits high and provided with sleeping places, *lenas* (cells), *kūtis* (huts), *maṇḍapas* (pavilions),

<sup>1</sup> *Sumāngala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 42: *Chhāyudaka-sampannam tam pākāra-parikkittam suyojita-dvāram manjuśā viya suguttam. Tattha rañño kiļanattham paṭibhānachitta-vichittāgaram akāmsu.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jaina Sūtras* (S. B. E.), Pt. II, pp. 419 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *Sumāngala-vilāsinī*, II, p. 538: *Nagaramajjhē mahatim sālam kāreto tassā ekasmim padese bhanḍa-pati-mānatthānam, ekasmim padese nirdisanatthānam akāmsu.*

<sup>4</sup> *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, p. 39; Fausboll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> *Sumāngala-vilāsinī*, III, p. 697: *Atha nam buddehi parikkhipitvā dvāra-vātāpanāni yojetvā suparinifftisa-sudhā-komma-mālākamma-latākamma-vichittam lenam katu Bhagavato adamsu.*

etc., as well as a private chamber, *gandhakūṭi*, for the use of the Master.<sup>1</sup> A similar account is given by Buddhaghosa of the *vihāra* built by Pāvārika Setṭhi in his Mango-grove near Nālandā.<sup>2</sup> The *maṇḍala-māla* which was a *nisīdana-sālā* in Jīvaka's Mango-grove is represented in the Bharhut sculpture as an open-pillared hall with a gabled roof.<sup>3</sup>

The *Mahābhārata* clearly mentions the temples of Maṇināga and Svastika without giving us an idea of their structure or material. The Maṇiyār Māṭh now exposed to view 'bears a certain structural resemblance to the temples of *Vesta* at the Bocca della Verita in Rome and at Tivoli'. But this cannot be taken to be the original shape of the shrine. Inside the masonry roof has been found the seated image of a nāga, dated in Saṁvat 1547, 'along with a basalt slab, bearing the representation of two human feet on it', the *charanapādukas* of *Nāga Sālibhadra*, set up by a Jaina lady in Saṁvat 1837.<sup>4</sup> The *Gotamā-nigrodha*, the *Maṇimāla-chetiya*, and the *Bahuputta-chetiya* were each a sylvan shrine, probably a typical banyan tree with some rude structure near it.

Buddhaghosa gives rather an exaggerated description of the *stūpa* built by king *Ajātaśatru* for hoarding the relics of the Buddha in one place. This description, as observed by Dr. Barua, is evidently coloured by, if not actually based upon, what he (Buddhaghosa) saw at Thūpārāma in Ceylon.<sup>5</sup> The underground structure of the tope need not be discussed.<sup>6</sup> As for the structure above the ground, we are told that a stone-mound was built to cover the *stūpa* under the ground.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāśini*, I, p. 133: *Tasmīn Ambavane ratti-ffhāna-divāffhāna-lena-kūṭi-mandapādīni sampādetovā Bhagavato anuchchhavikām gandhakūṭīm kāretvā Ambavanam affhārasa-hatthubbedhena tambapalā-vannena pākārena parikkhipāpetvā Buddhapamukham bhikkhusangham... vihāram niyyādesi.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāśini*, III, p. 873.

<sup>3</sup> Barua, *Brahmāputra*, Bk. II, p. 43; Bk. III, Pl. XVI; Cunningham, *Stūpas of Barhut*, Pl. LXIII.

<sup>4</sup> A. S. I., Report for 1905-6, p. 103. [The latest discoveries at this site include a sculpture inscription, in which Maṇi-Nāga is mentioned—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> See details in the *Sumāṅgala-vilāśini*, II, pp. 611-13; Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I, pp. 84-85.

<sup>7</sup> *Sumāṅgala-vilāśini*, II, p. 613: *tassa upari pāśāna-thūpam patiṭṭhāpesi.*

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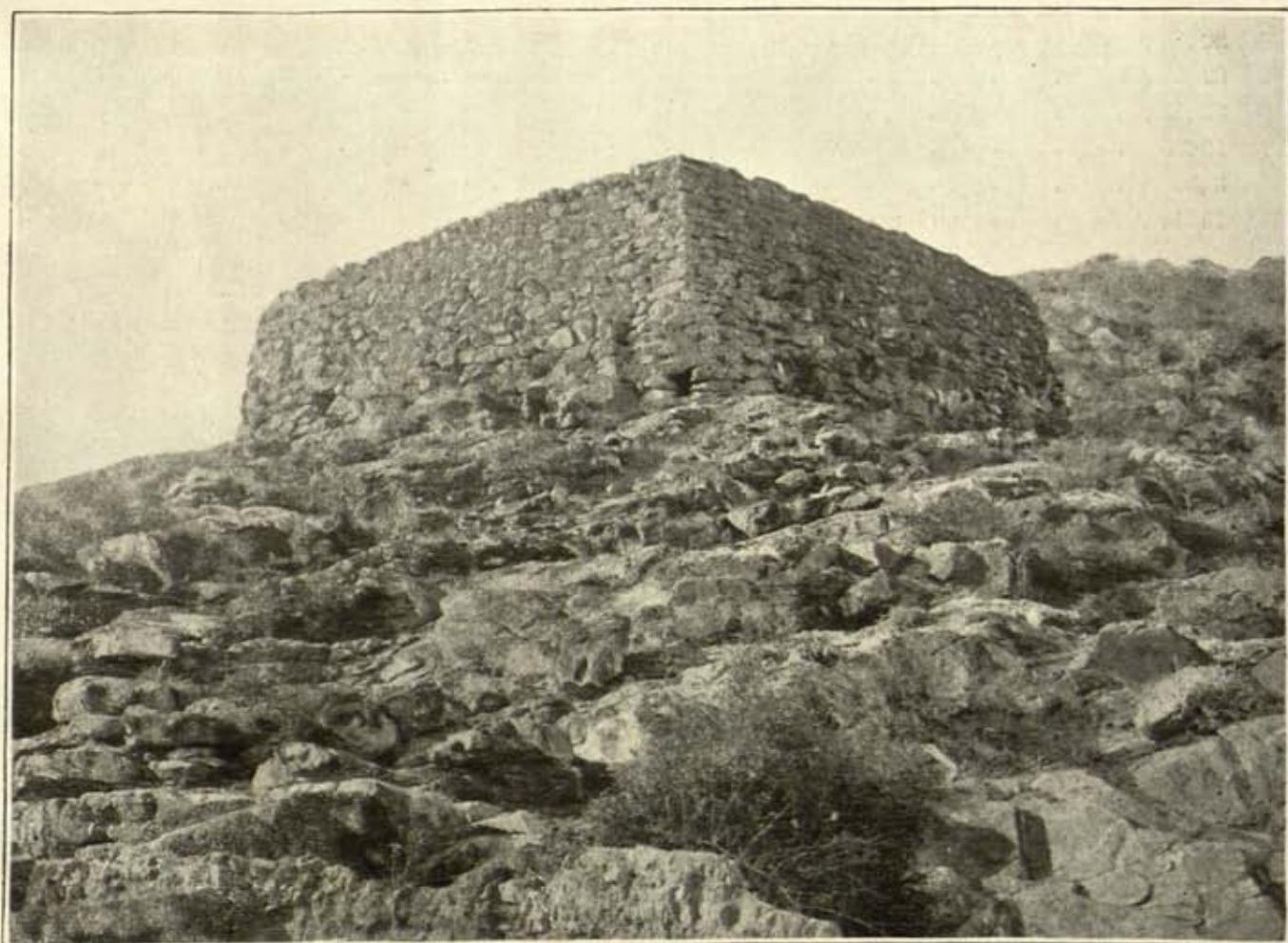
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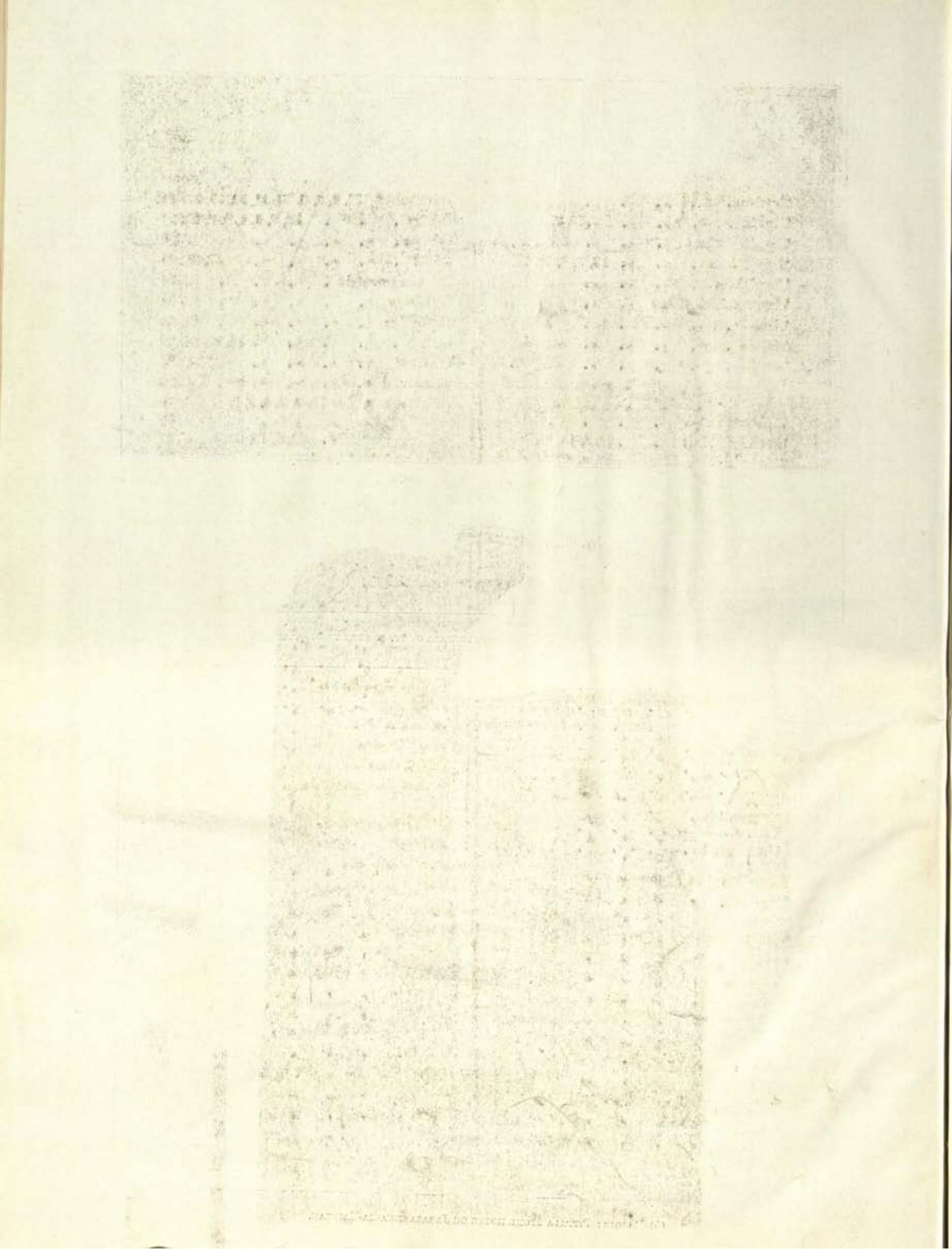


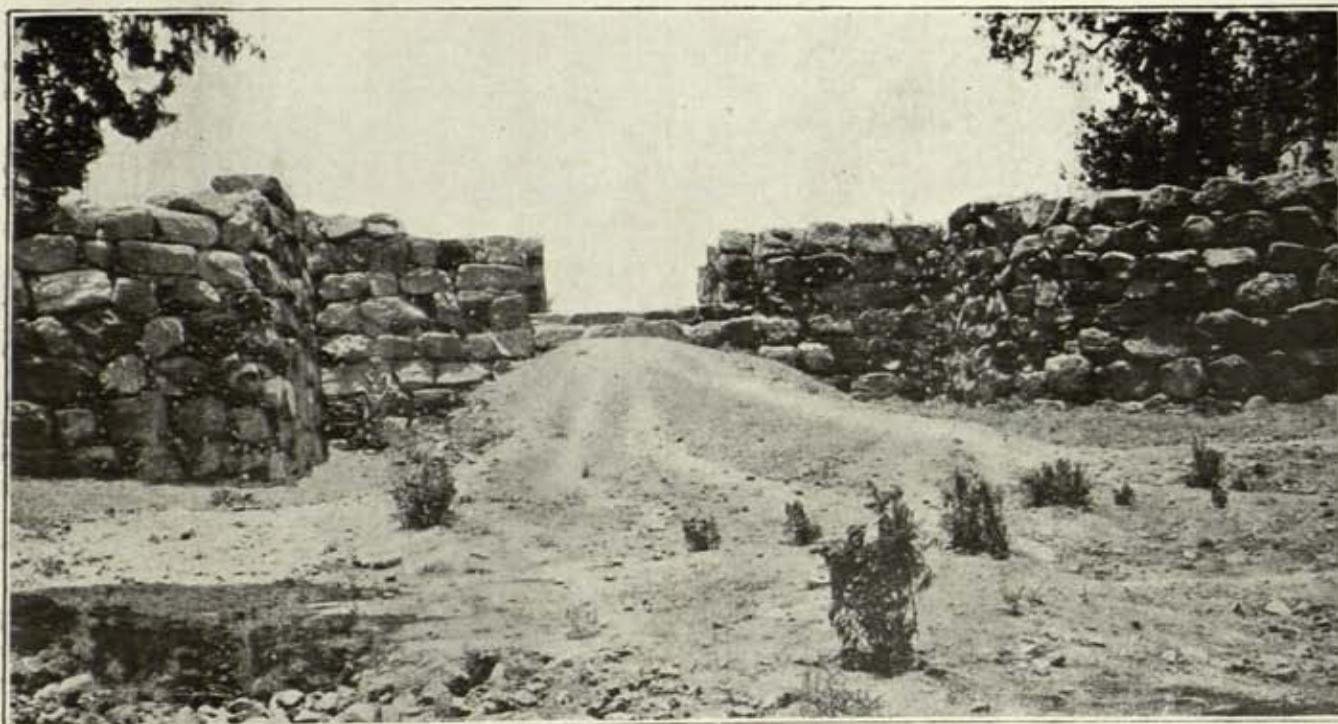


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(b) RAJGIR: PIPPALA STONE HOUSE OR JARASANDHA-KA-BAITHAK.



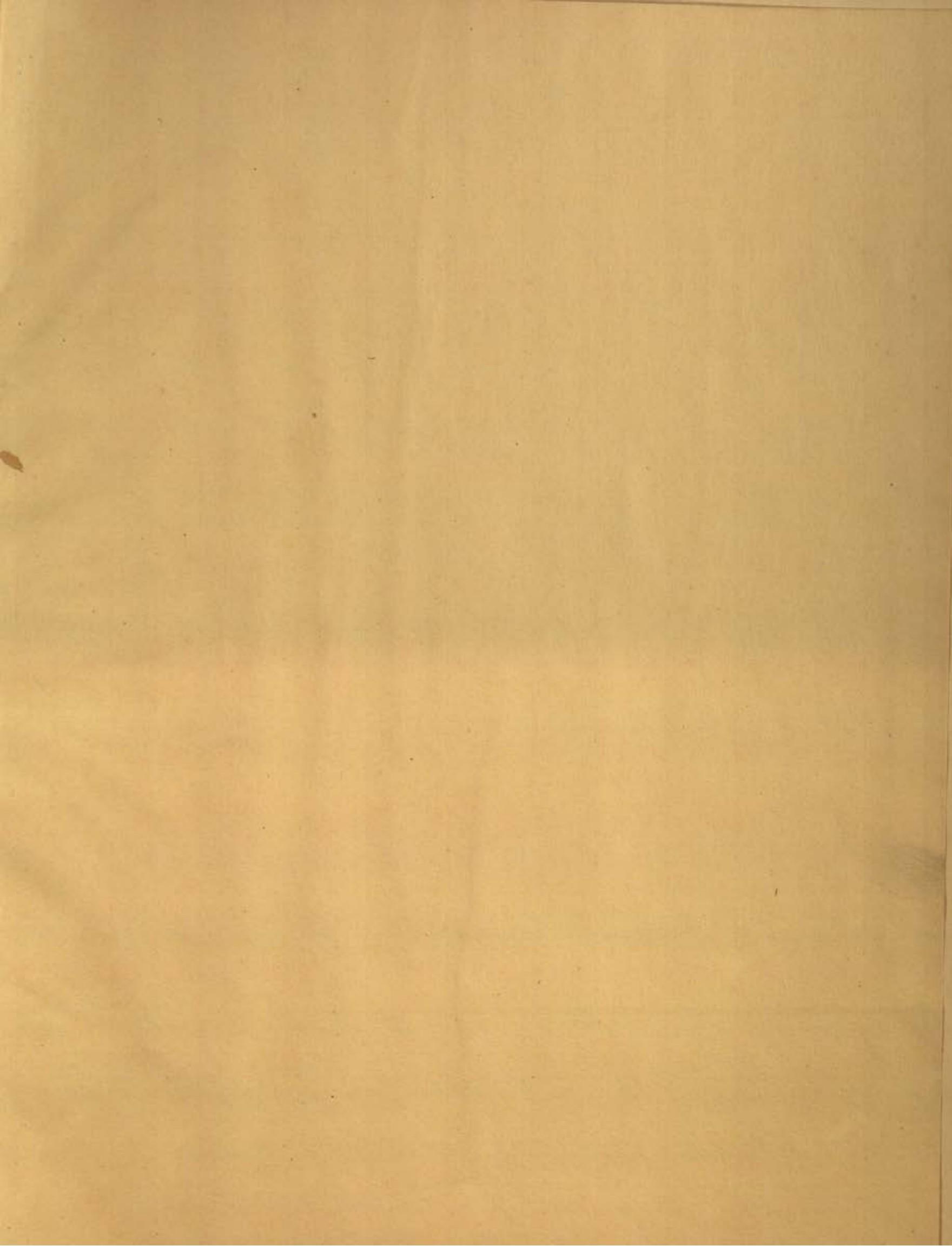


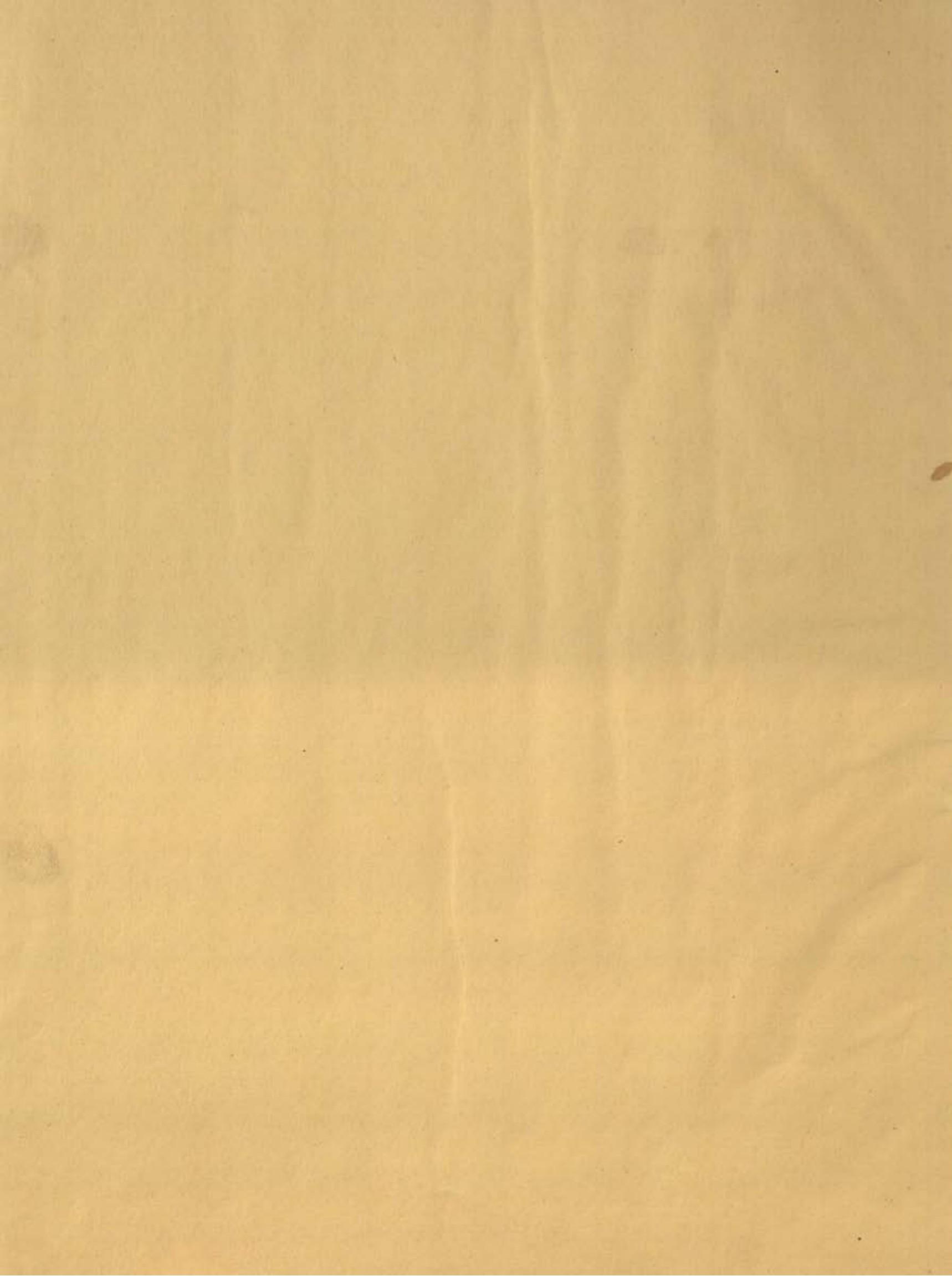
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